Daily Report

East Europe

ATTENTION!! ATTENTION!! ATTENTION!!

FBIS will phase out publication of most of its paper reports, including ALI Daily Reports and most FBIS Reports, by 31 December 1996.

See inside for information on how to access FBIS products and services electronically.

FBIS-EEU-96-088
Monday
6 May 1996

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

May 1996

Dear Customer:

Responding to our many customers' requests, NTIS is offering FBIS publications electronically. Due to resource limitations, hardcopy production of FBIS publications will be phased out during 1996. Hardcopy reports will be discontinued according to the following schedule:

1 April	*Arms Control and Proliferation Issues*
1 May	*Environment and World Health*
1 June	*Narcotics*
1 July	*Terrorism*

Hardcopy publication of the regional DAILY REPORTS will cease as follows:

1 August	*China, Latin America*
19 August	*Near East and South Asia, West Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa, West Europe Economic Review*
2 September	*East Asia, East Europe, East Europe Economic Review*
16 September	*Central Eurasia, Central Eurasia Military Affairs, Central Eurasia Economic Review*

FBIS' goal is to cease publication of all hardcopy reports by 31 December 1996 except for S&T PERSPECTIVES, S&T CENTRAL EURASIA, S&T CHINA, S&T KOREA, S&T EUROPE, and S&T JAPAN. The S&T reports will continue to be published as hardcopy until the graphics they contain can be disseminated on-line.

FBIS products are offered electronically through the National Technical Information Service's (NTIS) "World News Connection" (WNC). This is a new on-line subscription service accessible through the World Wide Web. The Web address is http://wnc.fedworld.gov. Please see the next page for a subscription form or call NTIS Fax Direct at 703-487-4140 and enter product code 8645 to receive more information.

World News Connection™

A Foreign News Alert Service from the U.S. Government

World News Connection - WNC1.....$ 21
7 Day - Introductory Offer
Unlimited interactive searching
[no profiles]
Order number SUB-9856BDQ

World News Connection - WNC2.....$ 50
Monthly
Unlimited interactive searching
[no profiles]
Order number PB95-985700BDQ

World News Connection - WNC3.....$ 75
Monthly
Unlimited interactive searching
[1 profile]
Order number PB95-985800BDQ

World News Connection - WNC4.....$100
Monthly
Unlimited interactive searching
[up to 5 profiles]
Order number PB95-985[illegible]0BDQ
(Prices are subject to change)

User Name *(Please Print or Type)*	**Internet E-mail Address** *(Required)*	**Order Number**	**Price**
1) _____	_____	_____	_____
2) _____	_____	_____	_____

(Continue on a blank sheet if more space is required)

Deposit Account Number (for NTIS account customers only): _____

Customer Master Number (if known): _____ Date: _____

Contact Name: _____ Organization: _____

Street Address: _____ City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Province/Territory: _____ Country: _____

Foreign Postal Code: _____

Internet E-mail Address (Organization contact person): _____

Telephone Number: ( ) _____ Fax Number: ( ) _____

Credit Card Number: _____

Credit Card Expiration Date: _____

Card Type (Visa, Master Card, or American Express): _____

Cardholder's Name (as printed on the credit card): _____

Cardholder's Signature (required to validate all orders): _____

(Please fax this form back to NTIS at **703-321-8547**. Fax service is available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. To verify receipt of your fax, call (703) 487-4679 between 7:00am - 5:00pm, Monday - Friday, Eastern Time.)

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-088 *6 May 1996*

CONTENTS

NOTICE: This volume contains a representative selection of material previously disseminated in softcopy format.

BULGARIA

Bulgaria: Socialists Discuss Replacing Videnov After Polls *[KONTINENT 6 May]* 1
Bulgaria: Videnov To Propose Dobrev for Interior Minister *[Sofia Radio]* 1
Bulgaria: Videnov Attacks Nachev for Poor Crime-Fighting Results *[24 CHASA 5 May]* 1
Bulgaria: Socialists Demand Nachev's Expulsion From BSP *[DEMOKRATSIYA 5 May]* 2
Bulgaria: Police Arrest 4 at Murdered Officers' Funeral *[Sofia Radio]* 3
Bulgaria: Energy Chief Says Work on Belene To Start in 1997 *[Sofia Radio]* 3

CZECH REPUBLIC

Czech Republic: Daily on Possible Clinton-Yeltsin NATO Agreement *[PRAVO 30 Apr]* 4
Czech Republic: Comment: Slovakia's NATO Entry in CR's Interest *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 2 May]* 5
Czech Republic: Havel Criticizes Electoral Commission Ruling *[Prague Radio]* 5
Czech Republic: Prime Minister Addresses ODS Conference *[Prague Radio]* 5
Czech Republic: Holan Called on To Bring 'Order' to Ministry *[DENNI TELEGRAF 30 Apr]* 6

SLOVAKIA

Slovakia: Daily Sees Holbrooke Visit as Mediation of 'U.S. Dictate' *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 2 May]* 7
Slovakia: Meciar on Hungary, Conditions for NATO Membership *[Bratislava Radio]* 7
Slovakia: President Views Meciar Administration, EU Entry *[Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD 1 May]* 9
Slovakia: Commentary Criticizes Official Position on NATO, EU *[PRACA 3 May]* 11
Slovakia: Commentary Views Solana's Attitude About NATO Expansion *[PRAVDA 2 May]* 11
Slovakia: Commentary on HZDS 'Concern' Over NATO Entry *[NARODNA OBRODA 2 May]* 12
Slovakia: Schenk Blames Hungary for Delay in Treaty Ratification *[PRAVDA 3 May]* 13
Slovakia: MOS Leader Accuses Hudec of Human Rights Violations *[Bratislava Radio]* 13
Slovakia: Ethnic Hungarians See Rights Curtailed by Language Law *[SME 2, 3 May]* 13
Slovakia: Kovac Kidnapping Witness Fears More Murders in Case *[SME 3 May]* 14
Slovakia: Daily Sees SIS 'Interference' in Kidnapping Inquiry *[NARODNA OBRODA 2 May]* 15
Slovakia: Press Doubts Robert R. Victim of 'Accident' *[PRACA 2 May, etc.]* 15
Slovakia: Media Council Warns Minority Broadcasts About Bias *[Bratislava Radio]* 17

HUNGARY

Hungary: Government Wants Accelerated EU Expansion Talks *[Budapest Radio]* 18
Hungary: FM 'Surprised' by Slovak Prime Minister's Remarks *[Budapest Radio]* 18
Hungary: Official Criticizes Situation of Hungarians in Slovakia *[UJ MAGYARORSZAG 3 May]* 18
Hungary: New Plans Drafted for Central Investigating Office *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 3 May]* 19

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

B-H: Commentary Considers Kornblum's 5 May Visit to Bosnia *[Sarajevo TV]* 21
B-H: Reconstruction Cooperation Accord Signed With U.S. *[Sarajevo Radio]* 21
B-H: Izetbegovic Pays First Visit to Gorazde *[Sarajevo Radio]* 22

B-H: Izetbegovic Promises Whole Republic Will Be Liberated *[Sarajevo Radio]* 22
B-H: Muratovic Discusses Cooperation With Croatia's Seks *[Sarajevo Radio]* 22
B-H: Croatian, Bosnian Assembly Chairmen Discuss Federation *[Sarajevo Radio]* 23
B-H: Zagreb, IFOR Officials Skeptical About Mines Accord *[AFP]* 23
B-H: Sides Reported 'Close To' Finalizing Boundary Line *[AFP]* 24
B-H: Izetbegovic Receives EU Mostar Administrator *[Sarajevo Radio]* 25
B-H: Ganic, EU's Casado on Mostar Elections, Human Rights *[Sarajevo Radio]* 25
B-H: Mayor Views Possible Postponement of Mostar Elections *[Mostar Radio]* 26
B-H: Muslims Raid Croatian Village North of Sarajevo *[SRNA]* 26
B-H: Over 30,000 Refugees Return to Sanski Most *[Sarajevo Radio]* 27
B-H: UNHCR Against Unilateral Return of Refugees to Bosnia *[TANJUG]* 27
B-H: 'Nine for Nine' Project To Facilitate Refugee Return *[Sarajevo Radio]* 27
B-H: Bildt Associate Heads Reconstruction Meeting in Ugljevik *[Banja Luka Radio]* 28
B-H: Karadzic Interviewed on Refugees, War Crimes *[Rome Radio]* 28
B-H: Karadzic Denies Giving 'Orders' To Carry Out 'Atrocities' *[Lisbon Radio]* 29
B-H: Kasagic, Former U.S. Senator Mitchell Hold Talks *[Pale TV]* 29
B-H: Kasagic on Bosnian Serb Government, Peace Process *[Paris LE MONDE 3 May]* 29
B-H: Kasagic Urges Brcko Resolution Before Arbitration *[TANJUG]* 30
B-H: Kasagic, Bildt Discuss Closer Ties to Federation *[SRNA]* 30
B-H: Kasagic Views Meeting With British Businessmen *[Banja Luka Radio]* 30
B-H: Serb General Sees IFOR Move as Influencing 'Events' *[Pale Radio]* 31
B-H: Trebinje Mayor: Belgrade Siding With Internationalists *[SRNA]* 31
B-H: Koljevic Wants Election Deadlines Met, Brcko Resolved *[TANJUG]* 31
B-H: Statement on Internal Party Elections in SDS *[SRNA]* 32
B-H: Doboj Socialists Continue Rally Despite Power Cuts *[Belgrade Radio]* 32

CROATIA

Croatia: Tudjman Receives Letter From Russian President *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Croatia: Granic Discusses Reintegration With UN Administrator *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Croatia: East Slavonia President Says Serb Exodus 'Ceased' *[TANJUG]* 34
Croatia: Rumors on PRC Rockets, Iran Involvement Viewed *[NEDJEJNA DALMACIJA 3 May]* 35
Croatia: Serb Police Chief Discusses Temporary Force *[Beli Manastir Radio]* 36
Croatia: Authorities Seal Offices of Independent Paper *[AFP]* 37
Croatia: Police Raid Newsroom of Split Weekly *[TANJUG]* 38

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

FYROM: Accord Reached To Resume Belgrade-Skopje Flights *[Belgrade Radio]* 39
FYROM: Mladic Allegedly Faces Lawsuit Over Unpaid Debt *[NASA BORBA 3 May]* 39
FYROM: Ethnic Divisions Threaten Macedonian-Yugoslav Agreement *[TANJUG]* 39

POLAND

Poland: Cabinet Approves Main Foreign Policy Principles *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 4-5 May]* 40
Poland: Kwasniewski Denies GS Chief To Be Replaced *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 6 May]* 40
Poland: Kwasniewski Names 10 Generals, Awards One White Eagle *[PAP]* 40
Poland: Conflicts, Moves at Secret Services Viewed *[WPROST 5 May]* 41

ROMANIA

Romania: Solana, Melescanu Make Statements on NATO Expansion *[Bucharest Radio]* 44
Romania: Iliescu, Vacaroiu Receive NATO's Solana *[Bucharest Radio]* 44
Romania: Melescanu, NATO's Solana Sum Up Results of Visit *[Bucharest Radio]* 44
Romania: Ex-King Mihai: NATO Membership Very Important *[Bucharest Radio]* 45

SLOVENIA

Slovenia: Radio: Clinton Supports Nation's EU Membership *[Ljubljana Radio]* 46

Slovenia: UK's Major Promises To Help Country Join EU *[Ljubljana Radio]* 46
Slovenia: Thaler on EU, Dispute With Italy, New Italian Government *[Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA 6 May]* 46
Slovenia: PM Drnovsek Discusses EU, Next Elections *[DELO 26 Apr]* 47

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

FRY: Turkey To Raise Level of Diplomatic Relations 'Soon' *[Belgrade TV]* 52
FRY: Seselj Demands Appointment as Kosovo Governor *[Bad Vilbel VESTI 2 May]* 52
FRY: SRS Leader Says New Electoral Law Violates Constitution *[NASA BORBA 3 May]* 52

Montenegro

Montenegro: Bulatovic Discusses Dayton Agreement With Bildt *[Belgrade Radio]* 53

Kosovo

Kosovo: UN Rights Rapporteur Sees Danger of 'Real Conflict' *[Tirana TV]* 53
Kosovo: UN Envoy, Bildt Associates View Meeting With Rugova *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 54
Kosovo: 'Kosovo Liberation Army' Attacks Detailed *[AFP]* 54
Kosovo: 'Alleged' Albanian Group Claims Responsibility for Attacks *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT]* 55

Bulgaria: Socialists Discuss Replacing Videnov After Polls

AU0605115596 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 6 May 96 p 1

[Report by "KONTINENT team": "They Will Overthrow Videnov in the Fall"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia—Yesterday sources in BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] headquarters told KONTINENT that a plan is already being discussed to remove Zhan Videnov from the prime ministership after the presidential elections.

The sources say that Videnov has committed unforgivable blunders, thus proving that he is not mature enough for his current responsibilities.

The grain crisis, the breakdowns in the banking system, the links with the Orion "group of friends," and lack of results in the fight against crime have exhausted his stock of confidence among party circles. The scandalous conduct of Interior Minister Nachev, who on Friday, 3 May, following the brutal murder of three police officers in the Lyulin residential district was found in the evening at a drinking party held after a beauty competition, was the last straw. "I am amazed by the prime minister's apathy and his heroic efforts to protect his unprofessoinal ministers," Yanaki Stoilov, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, told the BSP municipal conference in Razgrad on Saturday 4 May. In Plovdiv on the same day Videnov hastened to announce that he had accepted Minister Nachev's resignation and in the coming week will ask parliament to appoint Nikolay Dobrev as head of the Interior Ministry.

We will not touch Videnov before the elections, red deputies explained, because to act earlier would imply that the BSP is incapable of governing, and this may lead to the Left's candidate losing the presidential elections.

According to one of the proposed plans, Aleksandur Lilov is to be nominated as the Left's presidential candidate, while after the presidential elections Georgi Pirinski is to take the helm of the executive and form a cabinet on a broader political basis. Sources in BSP headquarters said that by next spring at the very latest the BSP will convene an extraordinary congress to elect Yanaki Stoilov as party leader.

In the immediate future, however, Videnov is to be forced to carry out a major cabinet shuffle, and this is to happen within the next two weeks. The BSP plenum on 12 May will not tackle the problems of the banks, but will take measures to settle the issues connected with crime, corruption, and the lack of control, Lyubomir Kolarov announced in Silistra on 4 May.

A recommendation is reportedly to be made at the plenum for Ministers Atanas Paparizov, Dimitur Pavlov, and Dr. Mimi Vitkova not to be touched. The majority of the delegates of the Left believe that Videnov should look for new people for the other cabinet posts. The weakest links in the administration are the economy, the fight against crime, and the financial system, said Yanaki Stoilov said at the BSP conference in Kyustendil last week, when he pointed out the need for changes.

Bulgaria: Videnov To Propose Dobrev for Interior Minister

AU0505140396 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 4 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] During one of the recesses at the accountability election conference of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] organization in Plovdiv today, BSP Supreme Council Chairman Zhan Videnov gave a news briefing, at which it became known that Interior Minister Lyubomir Nachev had resigned.

[Begin Videnov recording] In fact, I demanded an official report before lunch on 3 May on the incident. During the shootout, a police officer and two sergeants lost their lives. This is the most outrageous bandit provocation against the police and society, and someone must assume the responsibility for it.

Late in the evening Minister Nachev presented his report to me. He assumed the entire responsibility for the fact that, despite immense efforts by the Interior Ministry officers, lack of confidence is spreading in society concerning our ability to combat crime and submitted his resignation. I accepted the resignation of Minister Nachev and next week I will propose to parliament that it should relieve him of his post in the Council of Ministers. I am thinking of proposing to parliament that it should appoint as interior minister Nikolay Dobrev, the current chairman of the Parliamentary National Security Commission. [end recording]

Bulgaria: Videnov Attacks Nachev for Poor Crime-Fighting Results

AU0505150596 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 5 May 96 p 7

[Remarks by Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov to journalists in Plovdiv on 4 May]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Crime is a serious problem at the moment for all the countries in transition, without exception. Unfortunately, in addition to this the fight against crime is being turned into a subject for ideological and propaganda clashes regarding the nature of the transition in the countries themselves, including

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Bulgaria. This does not help, it hinders, but do not take this as an attempt on our part to shrug off the responsibilities for fighting crime. In my opinion, much greater results were expected from the Interior Ministry leadership and the minister himself. At the moment the Interior Ministry needs a much stronger leadership. I will put this assessment and these arguments to the government, parliament, and the political leadership, who are responsible for reaching a decision on this issue."

Bulgaria: Socialists Demand Nachev's Expulsion From BSP

AU0505140896 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 5 May 96 p 24

[Report by staff correspondents: "Socialists Demanded Nachev's Expulsion from Bulgarian Socialist Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia (DEMOKRATSIYA)—Interior Minister Lyubomir Nachev leaves his post, and Nikolay Dobrev will be proposed to take his place. Videnov chose to announce the news of the change in the cabinet during a recess at the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] municipal conference in Plovdiv. He called the murder of the three police officers "a bandit provocation against society, for which heavy responsibility must be borne." Late in the evening of Friday 3 May, Nachev assumed this responsibility and submitted his resignation, the prime minister said, adding that this happened after Bulgarian National Television had transmitted a scandalous report.

The television camera caught Nachev attending a fashion review staged by the Visage Agency in the National Palace of Culture. He was in the company of Evgeniya Kalkandzhieva, Miss Bulgaria 1995. The discrediting television report contained moments that showed that Nachev at that time did not regard himself as removed from power. In response to a remark by the woman reporter that she was surprised to find him in such a place, Nachev replied: "And you did not find me." To her words that she had no other choice than to say that she had located him among so many beauties, Nachev responded with the instruction: "Go on, cut it out of the report." The fact that the interior minister was relying on the protective umbrella of censorship and that the word resignation was not mentioned even once bears out claims by sources in BSP headquarters and the Council of Ministers that Nachev had no suspicion that he "had submitted his resignation," but was simply summoned to sign it.

However, those who gave their blessing to the transmission of the scandalous television report were very likely already well aware of the interior minister's fate. In an interview on Varna Radio yesterday, Krasimir Premyanov, leader of the BSP Parliamentary Group, described the report as a television manipulation. It was Granitski's revenge, Yordan Sokolov, chairman of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] Parliamentary Group, commented to Darik Radio.

The suggested version of a staged unmasking of Nachev to order, after he had already fallen from power, is further confirmed by another anonymous source, who said that on Friday evening Nachev moved on from the National Palace of Culture to the Orbita Disco, where he continued to party until 2:40 AM. DEMOKRATSIYA has learned that this report, which was not confirmed officially, was also disseminated to other newspaper offices.

Yesterday, calls were raised for Nachev to be expelled from the party by delegates attending BSP municipal conferences in the Sofia districts of Triaditsa, Oborishte, and Lyulin. The Socialists in Sofia's Sredets District sent a telegram to Zhan Videnov demanding that the party force Nachev to answer for his behavior following the tragic deaths of the three police officers and, more specifically, for his disgraceful appearance on National Television. Petur Dimitrov, head of the BSP Varna organization, was not satisfied with a single resignation, but demanded a cabinet shuffle. Most radical was BSP Deputy Chairman Yanaki Stoilov, who declared to his fellow party members in Razgrad that the ministers are unprofessional and that Videnov cannot govern any longer without making changes.

In Plovdiv Videnov admitted the existence of a personnel crisis in the government and repeated that after the BSP has announced its presidential candidate there may be further changes in the government.

The Interior Ministry Press Center announced a three-day period of mourning 5-7 May in all the ministry's departments in memory of the murdered policemen Yordan Binev, Krasimir Troshanov, and Angel Angelov. The ministry's leadership issued a call for everything to be done to track down and arrest the murderers, but failed yesterday to publicize any details on the progress of the investigation into the tragic incident.

Nikolay Dobrev, the candidate proposed for interior minister, was yesterday in Pleven to see his son taking the oath of allegiance for his Army service.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Bulgaria: Police Arrest 4 at Murdered Officers' Funeral

AU0505145096 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 5 May 96

[Report by correspondents Tanya Velichkova and Angel Shoylev]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today Major Yordan Binev, Second Lieutenant Krasimir Troshanov, and Second Lieutenant Angel Angelov were buried with the highest military honors. The three officers received posthumous promotions.

During the funeral ceremony, in front of hundreds of people, officers of the Sofia Police Directorate mounted a lightning operation and arrested four especially dangerous criminals. According to well-informed sources, one of them was being sought for murder. Following the action, a red Mercedes Cabriolet 500SL with Sofia registration number 50-05-TS remained at the entrance to the cemetery. The participants in the funeral ceremony were amazed at the brazenness of the criminals. A little later, a police officer who was on guard at the funeral told our reporter team—and I quote his words—that from now on no one will be able to stop the police, and that from now on the shady characters [mutrite] will have no chance to continue their work.

The names of those detained are not yet known, but according to our reporters, the relatives of one of the detainees have lodged a protest. They claim that he came to attend the funeral as a friend of one of the police officers gunned down on Friday. Later it emerged that casual onlookers also suffered during the police action at the cemetery.

Sources from police circles told our reporters that the murderers of the three police officers who were buried today are known to the police and will be arrested within the next day or two. It is as yet unclear whether the police had permission for their operation last Friday, or whether everything had been arranged on a friendly basis. According to those familiar with the incident, the bandits were amateurs, because many of their belongings were found at the scene of the crime. According to police sources, one of the gunmen turned to one of the murdered police officers and, while aiming his pistol at him point blank, asked: "You are a cop, aren't you?" Other sources claim that the gunmen were at least four in number and fled in two cars.

Friends of Second Lieutenant Krasimir Troshanov confirmed today that he was an excellent shot and always carried two loaded pistols with him. They expressed perplexity over how he could be gunned down in the incident without making any move. The deceased Troshanov also took part in the operation to arrest the "Baron" at Bratushkovo Reservoir two years ago.

Bulgaria: Energy Chief Says Work on Belene To Start in 1997

AU0305174796 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Bulgaria will have a new nuclear power station, announced Konstantin Rusinov, chairman of the Energy Industry Committee, at a conference in Belene today. He explained that it will not look like the one that was planned 13-14 years ago but will be equipped with the most modern safety and protection systems. Rusinov said that, in this connection, talks are in progress with Westinghouse, Siemens, and other Western firms. According to the Energy Industry Committee chief, the intention is to start construction of the nuclear power station in Belene next year.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Czech Republic: Daily on Possible Clinton-Yeltsin NATO Agreement

AU0605093696 Prague PRAVO in Czech 30 Apr 96 p 4

[Commentary by Jiri Pelikan: "A Possible Agreement Between Yeltsin and Clinton on NATO Enlargement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is hard to regard it as a coincidence that two leading U.S. dailies carrying a great deal of weight in foreign policy issues—namely, THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE and THE WALL STREET JOURNAL—published on the same day, 11 April 1996, two articles by their leading commentators, Sean Kay and Jim Hoagland, on a possible agreement between the Russian and U.S. presidents on the issue of NATO enlargement.

Hoagland points out that Clinton and Yeltsin's predecessors used with success open or secret agreements on foreign policy for mutual support against domestic rivals. This year, when they are striving for reelection and are under pressure from the domestic opposition, the two of them need such an agreement. Therefore, it is no surprise that their—until now—contradictory points of view have moved closer, even in such a controversial issue as NATO's enlargement toward Central and East Europe.

While Yeltsin repeats his negative stance as part of his election campaign, his foreign minister, Primakov, has begun—during his visit to Poland and in other meetings with Western statesmen—to explore cautiously the lay of the land for a possible compromise that would enable Russia to soften its hitherto negative stance and to agree with a certain form of NATO enlargement: This should be a guarantee that nuclear weapons will not be deployed on the territory of the new NATO members and that the new NATO members from the East will not become part of its military structure (France had a similar statute until recently). Incidentally, NATO states clearly in its study on enlargement of September 1995 that it does not intend to deploy nuclear weapons on the territory of the new member states.

According to certain disclosures, claims THE WALL STREET JOURNAL. Russia has understood that it cannot prevent NATO enlargement for long and, therefore, is starting to look for an agreement on the most suitable conditions for this step. But, at the same time, the West, maintains Jim Hoagland, is also beginning to consider more soberly the logistic and financial problems that NATO enlargement will bring. And, on the other hand, the governments in the countries of Central Europe have to ask themselves whether the majority of public opinion will be in favor of entry into NATO when the decision is made to increase expenditure on defense to the detriment of social requirements.

The two aforementioned commentators agree that NATO should adopt the principle that it will not expand the borders of its military structure all the way up to the borders of the former USSR. In this context, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL considers an option for enlargement that would open the doors to NATO first to the Czech Republic, which does not have a common border with the former USSR. On the other hand, Poland, which has a key position for NATO in view of its proximity to Ukraine and the Baltic republics and the region of the Russian bases in Kaliningrad, should receive the necessary security guarantees and a place in certain NATO structures without, however, becoming a member in the first integration wave.

Alternatively, Russia should bear in mind that NATO will enlarge like this gradually and that it now has an opportunity to influence, by its attitude, this process of NATO enlargement either toward a broader security community or toward an anti-Russian alliance.

President Clinton, of course, has to reject any Russian demands to set the conditions for or even to prohibit NATO enlargement. At the same time, however, he is well aware that Yeltsin cannot, under pressure from the opposition nationalist and communist forces and also a considerable sector of Russian public opinion, accept any kind of NATO enlargement that would not take Russia's interests into consideration. This applies especially now, in the run-up to the Russian presidential elections. During his recent visit to Moscow, Clinton made it clear that the United States considers the reelection of Yeltsin to be a real guarantee for the further development of reforms in Russia and for adherence to the agreements on the supervision of nuclear and conventional weapons and for cooperation with the West. Therefore, Clinton kept quiet in Moscow when Yeltsin said in front of journalists that Clinton, Kohl, and Chirac agree that the debate on NATO enlargement should be postponed until after the Russian and U.S. presidential elections.

Such a stance will probably alarm those impatient people in the countries of Central Europe who are demanding the fastest possible admission to NATO with the notion that this will automatically open the doors for their membership in the European Union. They are forgetting, however, that the three newest members of the Union—Finland, Sweden, and Austria—do not intend, like Ireland, to give up their neutral or nonbloc policy and thus that a group of member states that will not become NATO members is being formed within the European Union. So, it is up to the current candidates for

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

membership in the EU, including the Czech Republic, to consider whether it would not be more advantageous for them to expand this group.

Postponing the decision on NATO enlargement thus creates new scope for the countries of Central Europe to consider all of the possible options for their security and only then to decide which road to take.

Czech Republic: Comment: Slovakia's NATO Entry in CR's Interest

AU0605091596 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 2 May 96 p 12

[Commentary by Michal Mocek and Lubos Palata: "Without Slovakia, We Will Remain the Border"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the beginning of the week, Javier Solana, secretary general of the North Atlantic alliance, visited two countries that stand at opposite ends of the imaginary queue of applicants for NATO membership. This was confirmed even by Solana's behavior. While he had only praise for Prague, he kept pointing out the shortcomings of Bratislava. The Czech Republic [CR] should attempt in its own interest to reduce this difference.

Of course, it is great for the CR that it is a promising candidate for entry into the alliance. At the same time, however, the country should be uneasy about the diminishing hopes of neighboring Slovakia. Namely, if Slovakia is dropped from the first group, it can substantially complicate the position of the CR. The CR could become a country inside the alliance. This would happen, however, only if Slovakia also joins. Without Slovakia, we will remain the border, even if this time around it would no longer be the confrontational border of the Eastern bloc but, rather, the security border of the democratic world. Because of the unsettled question of the Hungarian minority, however, even this border could become the border of instability at any time.

Following the successful partition of the federation, Czech foreign policy toward Slovakia has been rather passive. It was quite understandable at the time of emotions flaming, above all, beyond the Carpathian peaks. Nevertheless, Prague should not maintain this stand after the elections. Reverberations of the undesirable political developments in Slovakia would also result in a risk for the CR.

Despite all of its domestic political excesses and ostentatious flirting with Moscow, the Slovak Government avows its intentions of becoming a member of the alliance. During the seven months remaining until the NATO decision on future development, Meciar's government has a chance to change a lot. Of course, only if it gives priority to the interests of the entire country over the interests of its power policy.

Prague should attempt to convince its Slovak partners by means of a more dynamic diplomacy about the desirability of such a course. It is also of vital interest to the CR.

Czech Republic: Havel Criticizes Electoral Commission Ruling

LD0505144796 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 5 May 96

[Regular Sunday interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Correspondent Robert Tamchyna on 5 May; from the "Conversations at Lany" program—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Tamchyna] President, the Central Electoral Commission last week ruled that one of the political parties [Free Democrats-Liberal National Social Party (SD-LSNS)] will be running in the forthcoming [parliamentary] elections as a coalition. I am raising this issue only to learn whether, in your opinion, the president can take a stance or comment on this issue at present.

[Havel] I believe that the president can comment on anything. Of course, he is taking the risk that his commentary will then be further commented on. As regards your question, I was really puzzled by what happened, and it seemed to me that the ruling was very strange, to say the least. I really believe it is not up to the Electoral Commission, which consists of representatives of individual parties, to decide which body is a party and which is a coalition—even more so if that particular party already has a written statement issued by the Interior Ministry in which the latter confirms that the party can hardly be considered a coalition. [passage omitted]

I am afraid that, unless the Central Electoral Commission revokes its decision, this whole affair might have a very bad future impact, and it might shed a bad light on the elections. Even after the election, the whole affair might result in bad and useless conflicts. [passage omitted]

Czech Republic: Prime Minister Addresses ODS Conference

LD0405143196 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 4 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Civic Democratic Party [ODS] is holding its preelection conference in Ostrava today. In his opening address, Chairman Vaclav Klaus talked about his party's future:

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Begin Klaus recording] We can laugh at the criticism that the ODS has exhausted itself by the economic transformation, that it has nothing to say about noneconomic issues, and that the transformation process in our country has been completed anyway.

The fundamental framework of a new society has been completed, but thousands of details, which, taken together, are not details, need to be tackled.

We are no longer facing the same enormous task of transformation that we did before. However, we have carefully read the election manifestos of some of our rivals, which tell us only one thing: If those manifestos were implemented, the results achieved during the transformation process would be in grave danger, and we would go down a completely different road. [end recording]

Czech Republic: Holan Called on To Bring 'Order' to Ministry

AU0305124796 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 30 Apr 96 pp 1-2

[Article by Jan Hrbacek: "Officers Associated With the Communist Vacek Should Be Discharged"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Vilem Holan should establish order in the Army's General Staff. This statement was made to us by a senior official at the Defense Ministry, who did not wish to be named, in connection with reports on contacts between some high-ranking General Staff officers and former Defense Minister Miroslav Vacek (Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM]).

According to this official, if the contacts with Vacek are proved, Minister Holan should discharge these officers immediately. This source considers the contacts with General Vacek, who is a KSCM election leader, to be absolutely unacceptable. Furthermore, the entire situation is made more complicated by the fact that, after the elections, Vacek will evidently be a deputy. The official also expressed his surprise at the fact that the minister, instead of intervening immediately and "tackling the rebels vigorously," aired the matter in public. A similar view is held by Stanislav Gross (Czech Social Democratic Party), a parliamentary Defense and Security Committee member, who said literally that "if the defense minister is complaining about this, it is very odd because dealing with the aforementioned issues is within his personal jurisdiction." Gross, like another member of the same committee, Tomas Fejfar (Civic Democratic Party [ODS]), thinks that such contacts really do exist because these officers worked with Vacek for a certain period.

As opposed to our source, however, he is convinced that this matter should not act as a kind of "whip" or a signal to conduct widespread personnel purges.

These concerns have to be backed up by the facts, and there has to be a matter-of-fact explanation of why these contacts are bad. "In the event this involves the divulging of military or official secrets or a conspiracy, there are pragmatic reasons for vigorous steps, and the defense minister should take them," said Gross. Holan's deputy, Petr Necas (ODS), has also spoken out against any hasty conclusions. According to him, in a democratic state the army should be loyal to the government and parliament, and the ministry's leadership is responsible for this. Deputy Tomas Fejfar (ODS) said on Tuesday [23 April] that at least four senior General Staff officers are in touch with post-November [1989] Defense Minister Vacek and "his group." Fejfar was reacting to the recent statement by Defense Minister Holan that certain General Staff officers disagree with the reduction in the size of the Army and the cuts in its operational costs. Fejfar is convinced that these are the "old structures" who obtained their posts on the basis of a career in the former KSC [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia].

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Slovakia: Daily Sees Holbrooke Visit as Mediation of 'U.S. Dictate'

AU0305081896 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 2 May 96 p 3

[Commentary by Peter Strelinger: "Great Maneuvers of the Hungarian Diplomats"]

[FBIS Translated Text] While NATO Secretary General Javier Solana's visit to Slovakia was announced long beforehand and eagerly awaited, it was somewhat surprising when Richard Holbrooke, deputy president of the CS First Boston Corporation investment bank and former U.S. assistant secretary of state, also appeared in Bratislava on 30 April. Despite his current job in high-level banking, this extraordinarily experienced and influential diplomat, known as the negotiator in Bosnia and organizer of the Dayton talks, belongs to President Clinton's inner circle. Hence, the reception extended to him by the Slovak Republic's top officials is not surprising.

Although we did not take part in the official talks between Holbrooke and Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, we are interested in the main reason for this extraordinary unscheduled visit. One does not need much diplomatic experience to figure out that Holbrooke was only interested in economic developments and investment possibilities in Slovakia out of politeness. After the strong "denials" by Hungarian Foreign Minister L. Kovacs and his spokesman on Tuesday night, there is no doubt about the spirit of the mission with which a man who has so much negotiating experience came here via the Hungarian capital. It is in vain that Budapest fervently denies that Holbrooke came in the role of "mediator"—translated into diplomatic lingo—the opposite is undoubtedly true!

Nevertheless, let us move from guesswork and hypotheses to the facts: At a brief lobby news conference, Holbrooke revealed that his renewed visit to Bratislava and meeting with Slovak Government officials were not official—but private. Moreover, he said that, among other things, he had discussed Slovak-Hungarian relations with the Slovak prime minister.

"As a private individual, I believe that Americans are interested in developments in this region, and therefore we also discussed how desirable it would be if the Slovak Government were to complete the ratification of the treaty that has been signed," the U.S. banker, diplomat (and negotiator) said, and immediately added (if we are to believe the official TASR report) "that the signing of the basic treaty—which represents a definite solution to the relations between Slovakia and Hungary—was very much supported in the United States." He recalled that it was a condition for the United States Government to discuss the Slovak Republic's NATO membership. Well, it is no longer diplomacy but rather an unequivocal dictate of the United States, when Holbrooke concludes by saying: "It is inevitable... although it may not be the most important criterion for membership in the North Atlantic Alliance." It is obvious that such a statement could not be made by an official representative of a world power. If Holbrooke made it, however, there is no doubt that it was the White House itself that was probably speaking through Richard Holbrooke's "private" mouth. Thus, neither democracy nor Slovakia's economic results are the criterion but rather the settlement of relations between Slovakia and Hungary! This vantage point makes it possible for us to understand why Meciar's government is such a thorn in the side for the powerful West, because while it also wishes Slovak-Hungarian relations to be resolved, the outcome should not be as it was under Greater Hungary. Moreover, Hungarian circles in Budapest and the strong lobby in the United States are becoming impatient because things are not working out as they planned. They are thus resorting to weapons of the heaviest caliber. They expect small Slovakia to buckle under the pressure and us to rest our heads in the lap of the good old Hungaria. Incidentally, let us recall again: Richard Holbrooke is not only an influential adviser to President Clinton and a great diplomat, as a "private individual," he is also the husband of U.S. journalist (of Hungarian origin) Kati Marton, who does not have the best reputation in Slovakia.

Slovakia: Meciar on Hungary, Conditions for NATO Membership

LD0305213396 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1638 GMT 3 May 96

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Martin Dobos in Bratislava on 3 May—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Dobos] NATO membership is not a competition but a matter of security, NATO Secretary General Javier Solana said during his one-day visit to Slovakia. He pointed out the need to have good-neighborly relations and resolve any problems on a bilateral level as being one of the conditions for the admission to NATO. This condition applies to all candidates. What can Slovakia do, or what is Slovakia already doing in this context? Prime Minister, are we any closer to NATO after the visit by Solana?

[Meciar] Of course, we have declared our interest in joining NATO. At the same time, however, we have declared our interest in the indivisibility of peace for all [as heard].

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The importance of good-neighborly relations is in fact a lesson learned by NATO from past Greek-Turkish relations. The lesson learned is that conflicts between countries should not be transferred inside a structure as this might result in its weakening. That is why NATO attaches great importance to resolving conflicts between neighbors in advance.

In this respect, our relations with Hungary are of supreme importance.

The treaty, which we concluded and signed and which was approved by the National Council of Slovakia and will be ratified [as heard], is the basis for our good cooperation. However, in spite of the fact that the treaty was concluded, we can see that on the Hungarian side there is occasionally some whining and a need to extend a protective hand over the citizens of another country.

If we do not respect the fact that minorities are first and foremost citizens of other countries, if we do not respect the fact that the sovereignty of a state does apply on its territory to each and everyone, and if Hungary's policy is modelled as the policy of a guarantor for minorities, providing guarantees going beyond the powers of the bodies of sovereign countries, nobody will benefit.

I hope therefore that the positive talks that we have opened with Prime Minister Gyula Horn will continue. [passage omitted]

[Dobos] During his visit to Slovakia on 30 April Richard Holbrooke, the former U.S. assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, quoted the conclusion of the ratification process of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty as the most fundamental condition to be fulfilled before the U.S. Government starts talks with Slovakia on its NATO membership. Prime Minister, how can be this process speeded up and when do you think that the ratification documents will be exchanged?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] It is again the Hungarian side coming forward with an excuse to delay this ratification process. They voice doubts over the way as how to interpret the resolution adopted by the National Council of the Slovak Republic. This resolution by the National Council is, of course, of historic value. It should be interpreted in the same way as the Hungarian Parliament's decision to tell the government and the executive bodies what to do as regards the Slovak-Hungarian treaty. The above resolution is binding for the Slovak side and one must not expect the Slovak Government behaving in an inappropriate way towards our parliament.

This means that it is a matter for both partners to agree on when to conclude the treaty. We are ready.

[Dobos] Secretary General Javier Solana has said that a dialogue between NATO and those interested in joining NATO will include a discussion about the internal political situation of individual countries. In our regular interview last week you admitted a possibility that some of our internal political problems might delay Slovakia's admission into NATO—unless they are solved in time. Are we going to be internally prepared in the near future to join NATO?

[Meciar] This is very complicated because it requires both the constitutional and political entities to behave differently. I cannot say that we have presented ourselves to the NATO secretary general in a positive way—we came close to presenting ourselves in a negative way.

He held several talks, including a dinner with the foreign and defense ministers which was conducted in a correct atmosphere and was rich in impressions and information. His talks with the prime minister also included lobbying for the interests of the Slovak Republic.

His talks with the president were different. The president first called on NATO bodies to point out who in Slovakia is to be blame in the case that we are not admitted into NATO. This is an attempt to draw an international organization into the internal problems of our state. Nobody does this. It is a state which is admitted, it is not an institution or a person.

The president went on to explain the views of opposition parties—despite the fact that such talks are held with a state and not with opposition parties. He did not fail to read an excerpt from one of the speeches delivered at the congress of the Party of the Democratic Left which said: Vladimir Meciar is an obstacle to joining the European Union or NATO. Nor did he fail to conclude by saying that the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia is not a democratic movement any longer.

If the secretary general, after being told these things, subsequently meets the Speaker of the parliament, the Speaker has naturally to take a stance on this all.

The secretary general thus had to leave with the impression, the conviction that everybody is against everybody else. Given this, it is impossible to join any reputable international organization, even less so any security structure which is only interested in an enlargement providing this enlargement does not weaken it. It is impossible to admit partners which are in internal disarray, unconsolidated, and without orderly relations between their constitutional bodies. It is an illusion.

Therefore, as the president was asking—Who?—he should start from himself.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Dobos] Yesterday, at a seminar on the financial policy, you said that our internal political problems were temporary. What did you mean by that?

[Meciar] I am sure that after the next elections the political spectrum of decisive political powers will become narrower because these powers will have to have clearly defined programs and they will have to have a clear social and voter backing. Only then will these powers be able to claim right to play any role in the political life. [passage omitted]

[Dobos] [passage omitted] With regard to the present candidates for EU membership there is competition, rivalry, who will be the first, who will overtake whom. Are there any possibilities at all for a coordinated approach within the integration process in Central and Eastern Europe?

[Meciar] There are such possibilities. The issue is whether there is the willingness to make use of them. [passage omitted]

That is why I suggested in 1995 that the prime ministers of the associated countries should meet and introduce a system of cooperation with each other. This system was not aimed against the EU. It was to assist in the coordination of efforts and approaches in joining the EU. Together, we can achieve more. Unfortunately, this initiative was not well received. [passage omitted]

[Dobos] According to some CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Agreement] members, it is this very organization that may act as a brake in the process of westward integration. What is your view on this?

[Meciar] CEFTA and the EU are not mutually exclusive. [passage omitted] If we compare the EU market and our market, then we can see that CEFTA provides certain preparation for joining the EU. We must not believe that it is sufficient for us to work towards meeting the EU conditions without creating conditions between ourselves [the CEFTA members]. It is futile to believe that we shall automatically find ourselves in the world of abundance. If we do not start to specialize our production and to cooperate today, if we do not start to implement in our market certain economic policies or rules compatible with those of the EU, we shall slow down our admission to the EU. Moreover, it will be more expensive as yet another restructuring will be needed. [passage omitted]

Slovakia: President Views Meciar Administration, EU Entry

BR0305145296 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 1 May 96 p 5

[Interview with Slovak President Michal Kovac by Peter Michielsen in Bratislava; date not given: "Honest Criticism Helps Slovak Democracy—President Kovac on the Administration of Prime Minister Meciar"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava, 1 May—*In a recent move the EU warned the increasingly authoritarian administration of Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar that the erosion of democracy was endangering the chances of Slovak membership in the EU. An interview with Slovak President Michal Kovac.*

Slovakia has become a country of disputes, arguments, and confrontations. The government of Prime Minister Meciar is continually pushing laws and other measures through Parliament which restrict democracy. That is the opinion not only of the opposition, media, and churches, but of Western governments, the EU, and NATO as well. The authoritarian policy of Meciar has already led to warnings from the EU that Slovakia is rapidly endangering its membership.

Meciar has been in a bitter conflict with Slovak President Kovac for years—a conflict which is taking on ever sharper tones. Spokesmen for the government coalition are openly calling for Kovac to be put on trial for high treason over the president's criticism of the government coalition. In the summer of last year Kovac's son was even kidnapped, it is generally accepted by agents of the Slovak secret service, the SIS [acronym unknown], controlled by Meciar. They poured him full of whisky, drugged him, took him to the border with Austria, and called the Austrian police, who arrested Kovac junior on the grounds of accusations made in Germany that he was involved in fraud by a Slovak-German joint venture. In the end Kovac junior was released by the Austrians with the argument that he had been taken against his will by the SIS to Austria. This brought the Viennese judges a furious attack by Meciar and the Austrian Government an official Slovak protest.

[Michielsen] What is going on with Slovak democracy?

[Kovac] Many people are disturbed by the increased confrontation in society. The opposition has no control at all over an important organization like the secret service, nor does it have any form of monitoring of the electronic media. The radio and television are entirely in the hands of the government coalition. The government has taken away powers from me as president and given them to the prime minister, so that even more power is concentrated in the hands

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

of one person. Independent newspapers were bought by supporters of the government coalition. Some 60 percent of radio listeners in Slovakia and 27 percent of television viewers get all their information from these media. Both are under government control. The opposition or the president get no access to these media, which means that the freedom to distribute information and the freedom to gather information are seriously limited. Slovak citizens no longer have the possibility of objectively informing themselves and are no longer able to take an objective position about the government's actions.

In all the parliamentary committees bar one, the government parties have a majority and all the chairmen and vice chairmen of the parliamentary committees are members of the coalition partners. Little attention is paid to expertise. A highly respected pedagogue from the opposition is in the parliamentary committee for the environment, and a former cyclist is chairman of the parliamentary committee for culture, science, and education.

[Michielsen] There is an increase in international criticism of the Slovak Government. Does it take any notice of this criticism?

[Kovac] Unfortunately the government's reaction is inadequate. The prime minister and the government parties refuse to admit that they are curtailing democracy and threatening human rights. The government parties shout that the criticism comes from the opposition and the president, and that the West takes it up. It is for the EU to closely follow the development of democracy here and judge in which direction we are really going.

[Michielsen] Is there a risk that Slovakia will drop out of the leading group of candidates for EU membership?

[Kovac] This risk exists if the EU and NATO assess Slovakia only on the basis of government policy. The EU must realize that positive things are happening here too. If the EU concludes that the government is deviating from the road of positive developments, then it must point out its errors in an honest, correct, and objective dialogue. In that way the EU will help Slovakia and also Slovakia's citizens, who no longer have a chance to assess whether their government is democratic or not.

[Michielsen] What would be the consequences if Slovakia is rejected as a member of the EU?

[Kovac] That is a difficult question. Economically it would lead to the stagnation of the entire economic development, exports would fall, foreign investors would be scared off, or competitiveness would be affected, and unemployment would increase.

More importantly rejection would be a very strong political signal, but the question is how that would be interpreted here. The media is in the government's hands. They would present such a rejection as an attack on Slovakia rather than a reproach of the government. They would write that the West cannot accept Slovakia as an independent state and that the West is jealous of our economic successes. I do not know whether supporters of the government parties would come to different ideas about the government due to such a decision by the EU. But in any case such a decision by the EU would only have negative consequences. I cannot imagine any positive political consequences. It would delay the entire democratization process in central Europe and awaken Russia's interest in Slovakia.

[Michielsen] Does Slovakia feel isolated by the international criticism?

[Kovac] I do not believe that criticism isolates Slovakia. Criticism isolates the government. NATO and the EU mst understand that here we have ten thousand civilian initiatives and thousands of self-managing organizations, which are working on democratization, that we have a market economy, private property, free entrepreneurship, all phenomena of democracy. The EU must understand that the majority of Slovaks are in favor of joining the EU and NATO.

[Michielsen] You yourself have your own problems with the prime minister. What is it—a clash between individuals or a clash of political visions?

[Kovac] It is not a private dispute about who has what influence, because this question is answered in the constitution. And I assure you: It is not the president who wants to change the constitution or have more powers.

The prime minister and I even agree about some things, like joining NATO and the EU. But we differ in opinion about the question of what strengthens democracy. We differ in opinion about which laws are contrary to the constitution. We differ in opinion about the style of government. I am for dialogue and consensus. I do not agree with the prime minister that the country is under threat from within. I do not agree with him that an enemy within exists, or that we must change the criminal law, and reduce human rights as a consequence. I am for the development of a political culture. I am for certain principled moral values, I am against bad manners, arrogance, and revenge in political life. These are all points where the prime minister and I do not agree.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Slovakia: Commentary Criticizes Official Position on NATO, EU

AU0605095296 Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 3 May 96 p 5

[Commentary by Ivan Ceredejev: "What Were Solana and Holbrooke Whispering About?"]

[Translated FBIS Text]

After the NATO Secretary General's Visit

Two acquaintances met in the Slovak prime minister's corridor: Richard Holbrooke, renowned for forcing the Bosnian leaders to end the three-year-long civil war, and the still green NATO Secretary General Javier Solana. To use a metaphor, while the head of the Alliance was taking off his shoes and the recently appointed banker was putting on the host's slippers, they used the moment beyond the range of curious ears for a confidential whisper and a laugh. The content of their amusing conversation may be worth speculating on. "Just imagine, he tried to convince me that Hungary cannot join NATO without Slovakia," or "he still believes that he is in the game," possibly "he told me that he has to go and phone Primakov"—all this Solana may have whispered into Holbrooke's ear, although the version "I will charge those in Brussels extra per diem" is just as improbable. The fact that the amusing conversation between the two important politicians took place in Bratislava calls, however, for much more attention. And that is so even if Holbrooke repeatedly emphasized that he came only as a "U.S. citizen," or a "private person." For such exchanges are not usual even in much more magnificent government residences, and if it does not testify to the empathy of the West for the Slovak Government, then certainly to its enduring interest in contracts.

In a situation, when it is ever more loudly rumored that Slovakia is being dropped from the circle of the most likely candidates for joining NATO, it certainly is encouraging, albeit certainly not enough to join the West European security structures. One must grant one thing to Meciar's cabinet: Despite the occasional exotic statements by various "political scientists" and NATO-skeptics from the milieu of the coalition partners, the government has not cast any doubts so far by an official statement or decision on its willingness and determination to pursue the Alliance membership. The statement made at a recent meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Primakov is an obvious reference here, as the Slovak party unequivocally described its orientation toward NATO as its working program on the occasion. One can put on the scales that are to determine the direction toward Brussels also the Slovak participation in the peace operations in Bosnia and Eastern Slavonia, and its exemplary endeavors to fulfill its obligations within the framework of Partnership for Peace. Even Solana's visit to Bratislava can hardly be considered a triumph from our point of view, if we realize that it was only one of numerous stops on his trip through Central and Eastern Europe, including, for instance, even Albania. If we do not wish to consider as a success the fact that he did not bypass us, as occurs ever more often with top-ranking Western politicians. It is possible to consider Solana's statement that "at this time, no one is excluded, and no one has been admitted" to be the most important one made in Bratislava. One need only forget the recent U.S. Congress bill that excludes Slovakia from the "first wave," and with a bit of goodwill, one can even educe from it the encouraging fact that Slovakia is still reckoned with.

The Slovak diplomatic top brass, full of indomitable sparkling optimism should look for instructions on how to improve these chances in Solana's words on the necessity of identification with the same democratic values as all the member countries of the Alliance. They include, for instance, conflict-free relations with neighbors. Brussels learned its lesson from the currently tense Greek-Turkish relations. The status quo of relations between Bratislava and Budapest evokes a feeling in Alliance circles that a pact "on a cease-fire" should be signed in addition to ratifying the basic treaty. It is difficult to conquer hearts in NATO Headquarters with such a reputation.

Slovakia: Commentary Views Solana's Attitude About NATO Expansion

AU0305141396 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 May 96 p 4

[Commentary by Jan Skoda: "Let Us Read Solana's Words Correctly"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Javier Solana's visit has probably disappointed those who expected from the messenger from Brussels a more specific statement on our chances of joining NATO, especially in the negative sense of the word. [sentence as published] According to logic, a serious word was to be expected on the recent resolution of the U.S. Congress, which, in enumerating prime candidates for membership of the alliance, did not forget to mention Slovakia, but left it out intentionally. But neither President Clinton nor the NATO secretary general are going to tell us the truth. We should, therefore, be content with the statement that, following the indivisible international Meciar-Camdessus friendship, another such tandem—Solana-Schenk—has been formed, sealed at their joint news conference by

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

a friendly pat on the Slovak minister's shoulder and by an almost fraternal hug of the two partners. But let us be serious.

Javier Solana is a professional diplomat who knows what he can afford to say in public and what is intended "only for the chosen ones." But even what he could afford to say made it clear what Brussels expects from us. It was no coincidence that, unlike when he was in Prague, Solana repeated so often [in Bratislava] that NATO was not just a military, but also a democratic political organization, which accepts into its ranks only countries with problem-free relations with its immediate neighbors. So it is easy to deduce that Slovakia—and probably Hungary as well—will not become a member of the alliance very soon, because it still has much to make up for in this respect. Let us recall that, on Tuesday [30 April], Bratislava was also visited by Richard Holbrooke, former assistant secretary of state and today "only" Clinton's adviser, to inquire, first and foremost, about the causes of the delay in the exchange of ratification papers to the basic treaty between Slovakia and Hungary.

At the news conference, the NATO secretary general did not want to advise our officials on how to get rid of the feeling that Slovakia tends to be forgotten when serious decisions are made. They are capable people, he argued. They should therefore realize that they have ahead of them a maximum of seven to eight months in which to convince their 16 NATO partners about the respect for democracy and the strict observance of human rights in our country. This, too, is the purpose of the individual dialogue that is to be a harbinger of either our Atlantic alliances or our isolation.

We definitely should not react as we have hitherto, by making light of the warnings expressed in last October's demarches of the EU and the United States and in the EU's recent statement, to which we have still not appropriately reacted to this day. The West wants from Meciar's government changes in the contents and methods of its policies and, if no such changes occur, it will forget us in the way exhibited by the U.S. Congress.

We should not seek consolation in Javier Solana's assurances that no candidate country, not even Slovakia, is without a chance to be among the first to be admitted to the alliance. Let us realize that the highest NATO political representative will be claiming this up to the very moment when Brussels decides otherwise. And when this happens, every explanation will be pointless.

Slovakia: Commentary on HZDS 'Concern' Over NATO Entry

AU0305135296 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 May 96 p 9

[Commentary by Julius Gembicky: "If the Coalition Does Not Understand Demarches, the Time Has Come To Explain Them to Them"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When the postelectoral government coalition explained the first demarche from the European Union countries to the public almost as praise, it rather amused the West. The second demarche was therefore brought to Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by three ambassadors of the EU countries in person. Although—as a sign of disagreement on the part of the Slovak prime minister with the reproaches from the EU countries—the second serious admonition also ended up like a scrap of paper on the government sofa, and the government officials put on an offended face, it was not a result of the refractory policy of the opposition and the Slovak president, and the addressee of the reproaches was the government coalition. Moreover, the government acknowledged the two resolutions of the European Parliament in a similarly trivializing manner.

If numerous politicians omitted Slovakia from the lists of NATO or EU membership hopefuls, the reason was not their failing memory, but a diplomatic warning that the Slovak Republic is making mistakes that are irreconcilable with the regulations and goals of the two associations.

Although Juraj Sestak, state secretary at the Foreign Ministry, already acknowledged on the Kroky television program that the Slovak Republic would be neither the first, nor the second country to be admitted into NATO, he made up for it by saying that Slovakia is expected to be in the NATO expansion. In Friday's interview for Slovak Radio, Vladimir Meciar admitted, for the first time, the possibility of the Slovak Republic's being eliminated from the first group of NATO-membership hopefuls. Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, even declared at the celebrations of the fifth anniversary of the emergence of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] from the Public Against Violence movement in Kosice that "we must be more prudent, and should not take steps that may be good and even inevitable from the point of view of domestic policy but cause concern in foreign circles."

At the time, when the aforementioned HZDS officials showed the first signs of concern, they were well aware of the bad news presented to them by leading Western politicians either in person or via various

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

information channels. They were no longer wrapped up in a diplomatic lingo, but spelled out so they had to understand.

First, Wolfgang Schuessel, Austrian vice chancellor and foreign minister, sent his visiting card prior to his unofficial visit to the Slovak Republic with a statement for ORF Radiojournal: "If Slovakia wants to become an EU member, it must do much more than it has done so far." In the circle of Christian Democrats, he stated openly that Slovakia is actually no longer in the group of hot candidates for the admission into the EU in the first round. Jean Francois Wallin, secretary general of the Party of European Socialists, was even more open at the 4th congress of the Party of the Democratic Left in Nitra last weekend. For him and the European socialists it is specifically and definitely Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar who is the obstacle to the future membership of Slovakia in the EU. The Party of the Democratic Left delegates, who so frequently applauded the empty debate, were stunned by the openness of the French guest. Maybe some of them then recalled the old statement by Vladimir Meciar that if they do not want us in the West, we will turn to the east.

At home, they may even be the rhetorical question: "Was the point in question when Meciar said it that this prediction might come true?"

Slovakia: Schenk Blames Hungary for Delay in Treaty Ratification

AU0405145296 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 May 96 pp 1-2

[Report by "ik" on interview with Slovak Foreign Affairs Minister Juraj Schenk in Bratislava on 2 May: "Juraj Schenk Criticizes Budapest"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Juraj Schenk expressed on 2 May great surprise over the fact that the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has grown accustomed to commenting on our internal procedures. At the same time he indicated that, by its actions, the Hungarian side delays completion of the ratification process for the interstate treaty.

Replying to a question from PRAVDA, the chief of Slovak diplomacy reacted to the 30 April statement by Gabor Szentivanyi, spokesman for the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which he announced that the Hungarian side still has not received a reply to its diplomatic note of March, in which it tried to ascertain the ideas of the Slovak Republic about the method and approximate timing of the exchange of ratification papers for the Slovak-Hungarian basic interstate treaty. At the same time, Szentivanyi called it peculiar that President Michal Kovac still does not avail himself of the ratification documents, which require his final signature.

"I would be glad if our partners simply respected standard procedures used by the Slovak Republic in this case and if they did not try to gain political capital out of it," Juraj Schenk said. According to his words, "as a result of all these interventions and all these attempts, this whole process, which could have been smoothly settled already, is being needlessly delayed."

Asked whether it was not unusual for the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs still not having replied to a Hungarian diplomatic note of March, the minister said that "unusual is that our partner is commenting on our internal steps."

With regard to the method and date of the exchange of ratification papers, Juraj Schenk was only willing to say that it would take place in a standard way and at a time that the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs will announce in due course. Asked whether he understands by standard way the exchange of identical texts, as is customary in diplomatic practice, that is, without the unilateral interpretational addendum to the treaty approved by the National Council of the Slovak Republic, the minister replied: "You said it, I did not make any comment."

As is known, Hungarian representatives have repeatedly emphasized that, during the exchange of ratification papers, they will refuse to accept the interpretational resolution of Slovak Parliament as part of the document.

Slovakia: MOS Leader Accuses Hudec of Human Rights Violations

LD0205154596 Bratislava Slovak Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 2 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The cutting back of Hungarian cultural institutions in Slovakia, which started last year, continues, said Laszlo A. Nagy, chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party [MOS], at a press briefing today. That is how he reacted to the news that the Hungarian art group Ifju Szivek [Young Hearts] will be closed down.

According to A. Nagy, Culture Minister Ivan Hudec has been violating basic human rights.

Slovakia: Ethnic Hungarians See Rights Curtailed by Language Law

AU0305135596

[FBIS Report] Bratislava SME in Slovak on 2 and 3 May publishes a number of reports on the repercussions generated by the law on the state language, approved by the Slovak Parliament last November, on the country's

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Hungarian minority and other Ministry of Culture measures perceived as "hostile acts" against the Hungarian minority.

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 2 May on page 2 carries a 350-word report by "rej" entitled "Hungarian Coalition Is Asking the President To Appeal to the Constitutional Court." The report deals with a letter addressed by the Hungarian Coalition to President Michal Kovac, in which the three ethnic Hungarian parties making up the coalition remind the president of his earlier promise to submit the law on the state language to the Constitutional Court, should its implementation violate minority rights. According to the report, "the letter to the president contains information on the state language law's practical repercussions, which have curtailed the use of minority languages. The director of the school administration in the district of Nove Zamky, for example, ordered that bilingual stamps in schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction be replaced with Slovak stamps. Another example is a letter from Milan Ferko, director of the State Language Department at the Ministry of Culture, to the Ministry of the Interior, according to which only the state language must be used at wedding ceremonies. The letter also mentions a Ministry of Education decree on the use of single-language (Slovak) high school diplomas at secondary schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction, and the recommendation of M. Pius, director of the school administration in Bratislava-7, that principals of secondary schools with Slovak as the language of instruction not permit pupils from elementary schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction to take admission tests in the key [profilove] subjects in Hungarian."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 3 May on page 3 carries a 350-word report by "rej" entitled "Hungarian-Language Inscriptions in Komarno Museum Are Being Removed in Second of Eight Permanent Exhibitions." The report states that based on an "order" from Culture Minister Ivan Hudec, according to which inscriptions in museums are to be "in Slovak and in one world language," E. Lehotska, the new director of the Danube Region Museum in Komarno, has "already" ordered the removal of Hungarian-language inscriptions from "the second of the museum's eight permanent exhibitions." In the future, the inscriptions are to be in Slovak and English, instead of in Slovak and Hungarian. As the report points out, "one of the main tasks of the museum is to document the culture of Hungarians on the territory of Slovakia" and "the majority of the visitors of the Komarno museum are persons of Hungarian nationality from Slovakia and Hungary." M. Macz, the museum's historian, is quoted as telling the SME reporter that, under the museum director's order, Hungarian-language signs are to be removed from six of the museum's eight permanent exhibitions. Only the exhibitions dedicated to the writer Mor Jokai and the composer Lehar will not be affected. According to SME, "the Komarno City Council has issued a protest against the removal of Hungarian-language inscriptions from the museum," and the move has also been criticized by Arpad Duka Zolyomi, deputy chairman of the Coexistence Movement.

On the same day, on page 2, Bratislava SME in Slovak carries a 200-word report by "rej" entitled "Ministry of Culture Is Abolishing 'Young Hearts.'" The report states that "effective 31 July 1996, the Ministry of Culture is abolishing the subsidized organization Young Hearts (Ifju Szivek), the semiprofessional Hungarian folk song and dance ensemble." According to the report, "Minister Ivan Hudec's decision, which is addressed to A. Takacs, the organization's director, does not contain any specific reasons for this move." The SME report quotes Laszlo Nagy, chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party, as saying that the abolition of the Young Hearts is a "hostile act against the Hungarian minority" and an expression of the "continuation of the government's policy of suppressing the minorities' cultural institutions, which has already resulted in the extinction of a number of minority periodicals and in the unbearable situation of CSEMADOK [ethnic Hungarian cultural organization)."

Slovakia: Kovac Kidnapping Witness Fears More Murders in Case

AU0305190496 Bratislava SME in Slovak 3 May 96 p 4

[Statement by Oskar F., former SIS member who confessed to participating in the kidnapping of Michal Kovac Jr., currently "hiding in an unknown place": "My Best Friend Died"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Just like the murderers and organizers of the murder of Robert R., the silent majority is, in a way, also responsible for the death of the young man who had to die in such a brutal way to show by his death who rules Slovakia and what methods he uses to maintain power and conceal the truth. Robert R.'s death is a great loss for me. My best friend, who visited me frequently and supported me psychologically in my worst moments, is dead. Investigator Major Jozef Ciz knew that Robert R. was in contact with me. Robert notified him that he was being shadowed by SIS [Slovak Information Service] vehicles and other vehicles with Nitra license plates and asked him for help. The investigator did not believe him. Quite the contrary, he accused him of complicating the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

investigation. He no longer will. He died because he knew me. Despite being shadowed and intimated, he was helping me and stood on the side of truth about the kidnapping of the president's son.

When a witness confirmed my testimony, two grenades exploded in the garden in front of his house. It was only by miracle that he survived. The culprits are still unknown, but, again, SIS vehicles were seen at the place of his residence. How many more lives will be taken? Am I and my girlfriend, Adriana K., the next on the list?

I beg you, Mr. President and opposition representatives, do prevent further desperate victims of the lawless political situation in Slovakia created by the government and its coalition lackeys. I beg you, make use of all means and powers at your disposal so that the people responsible not only for Robert R.'s murder, but also for the political situation, are exposed and punished. Slovak Interior Ministry Spokesman Mr. Ondera is not credible when, on the one hand, he denies the name and the initials of the dead person [as published], but, on the other, promptly comes up with the expedient lie that he was making a living by extorting debts from Slovak and foreign firms. That his job was different was immediately confirmed by Robert's superior in an interview for RFE. The fact that the RFE editor found this out immediately and without problems only confirms that the Slovak Ministry of Interior was not interested in telling the truth, but in misleading the public with self-serving claims. It is, therefore, highly unlikely that the commission formed, according to the spokesman, to investigate Robert R.'s death will proceed in a different spirit. If there is no one in Slovakia capable of preventing further tragedies and loss of life, it plays into the hands of those who would want me to start publicly lying and to change my testimony about the kidnapping of the president's son.

I firmly hope that, in the interest of truth and democracy, that the opposition and the president will take all the necessary steps for these values to be preserved in Slovakia, so that people do not have to die just because they are on the side of truth.

Slovakia: Daily Sees SIS 'Interference' in Kidnapping Inquiry

AU0305102496 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 May 96 p 9

[Commentary by Ivan Horsky: "Unlawful SIS Activity"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Michal Kovac, Jr. kidnapping affair, and everything directly or indirectly related to it, are the touchstone of democracy in Slovakia. We do not want to anticipate the investigation of this undoubtedly highly interesting case, which, in seven months, or, in fact, in the three years of efforts at the political liquidation of Michal Kovac, Senior and his ouster from the presidential seat, has overcome remarkable problems. But, as can be seen even today, an interesting phenomenon has emerged in Slovakia in this context. The Ivan Lexa-headed Slovak Information Service [SIS], directly accused by an Austrian court of participation in organizing the kidnapping of the president's son, has started to interfere, publicly but also covertly, in the investigation—in two ways: First, by launching all kinds of stories, in an endeavor to divert attention from itself. This one could still understand, more or less, as secret services all over the world do this.

What is no longer understandable, however, is that the SIS is directly interfering in the investigation through public channels, particularly through media that are more or less favorably inclined toward the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] or that are, on paper, public corporations. Using these channels, the SIS spokesman, a former editor of SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA, accused the first two investigators of the Michal Kovac, Jr. affair of having forged records in the investigation file and is trying to discredit them also by other means.

This confirms the fact that parliamentary control of the secret services has completely failed. The monochromatic composition of the special parliamentary body for supervising the SIS, in particular, allows the long-term playing of hide-and-seek, which does not improve Slovakia's tarnished political reputation and threatens its fundamental interests.

Slovakia: Press Doubts Robert R. Victim of 'Accident'

AU0305080896

[FBIS Report] Slovak newspapers on 2 May publish a number of reports and commentaries on the circumstances of the death of Robert Remias, 26, a witness in the Kovac Jr. kidnapping case, following the explosion of his BMW, which had a propane-butane powered engine, in Bratislava on 29 April. Some reports cite circumstances that seem to indicate that the explosion was not an "accident."

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak on 2 May on pages 1 and 2 carries a 500-word report by Ivan Ceredejev entitled "Oskar F.'s Friend Died in Car Explosion; Was It a Public Execution for His Share in Uncovering Kidnappers of M. Kovac Jr.?"

Describing the circumstances of the explosion, the PRACA correspondent says: "According to eyewit-

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

nesses' testimonies, the fire broke out in the rear of the car while it was in motion. The car broke through a railing and came to a halt, engulfed in fire. It exploded after about five minutes. The police arrived at the scene a few minutes later.

"The car, with a Czech license plate, belonged to the victim's mother, had been imported from Italy, and had a propane-butane-powered engine, which made the police voice the suspicion that the explosion had been caused by a defect in the fuel system. As the exclusive importer of this type of equipment said on the Czech Television news on Tuesday, however, not a single case of explosion of a propane-butane-powered automobile system is known in the world. According to his words, the system is so safe that an explosion cannot occur even as a result of accumulation of gas or as a result of fire. The staff of the Institute of Criminology and Expert Analysis are verifying whether the explosion had been caused by a charge. The immediate cause of death, according to Slovak Interior Ministry Spokesman Peter Ondera, will be ascertained by a forensic expert."

The PRACA correspondent notes that Robert R. (all Slovak newspapers, with the exception of NARODNA OBRODA, mention only the initial letter of the victim's surname) was a close friend of former Slovak Information Service (SIS) employee Oskar F., the "crown witness," now in hiding, of the SIS's participation in the kidnapping of the president's son. Robert R. has reportedly recently been working for a firm specializing in the collection of debts, which is co-owned by Jaroslav Simunic, the first of the two police investigators who had been taken off the case of Michal Kovac Jr.'s kidnapping last fall. In this context, PRACA quotes Jaroslav Simunic as having told the paper: "There is a commonly held view that a person collecting debts is going around with a gasoline container and an igniter. In reality, however, it is a financial settlement between two juridical persons. Our customers are renowned firms, often foreign-owned. Robert R. was working on the basis of a business license and never came into direct contact with debtors." Simunic also voices the "conviction" that Robert R. has been "murdered." He says: "Robert R. complained to me last month that he was being openly, that is, not covertly, shadowed. It looks like a public execution as a lesson for his having convinced Oskar F. to confess his participation in the abduction of M. Kovac Jr."

Bratislava NOVY CAS in Slovak on 2 May on pages 6 and 7 carries a 1,000-word report by Ivan Cernansky and Peter Skorna entitled "First Victim in the Case of Michal Kovac Jr.'s Kidnapping." The report quotes an unnamed witness as having told NOVY CAS that Robert R.'s BMW "had exploded twice," which, according to the paper, "would suggest that a booby trap had been installed in the car." According to the NOVY CAS reporters, "the criminologists and experts present were more restrained and did not betray the cause of the BMW's two explosions that night."

Explaining Robert R.'s link to the investigation of Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction, the NOVY CAS reporters say: "Major Ciz, the investigator of the case of the abduction of the president's son to Austria, recently interrogated Robert R. and was eminently interested in learning from him the present whereabouts of former SIS member Oskar F., one of the leading witnesses of the kidnapping of the president's son. As we have learned, Robert R. was Oskar F.'s best friend. When the former SIS member left the territory of the Slovak Republic out of fear for his life (Oskar F. testified that the kidnapping of the president's son had been masterminded by the SIS), Robert R. was maintaining permanent contact with him. According to our information, Robert R. had a suspicion that the SIS was shadowing him, which he supposedly confided also to the investigator of the kidnapping, Major Ciz, who, however, tried to talk him out of it."

The NOVY CAS reporters also mention that, about one hour before his death, Robert R. visited Peter Toth, the SME editor who is closely covering the case of the kidnapping of the president's son. In this context they say: "As Peter Toth told our daily, Robert R. had confided to him a few days before the explosion that he had a suspicion that someone was shadowing him. Peter Toth also informed us that on Monday a week ago (22 April), at around 2200 at night, some people were threatening him at his place of residence, telling him to come out of his apartment because, even if he did not, they would get him anyway...."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 2 May on page 1 carries a 500-word report by "pt" entitled "Robert R., Oskar F.'s Best Friend, Tragically Died Monday Night." The report, which confirms Robert R.'s contact with SME editor Peter Toth one hour before the explosion, says, among other things: "In mid-March 1996 Robert R. reported to investigator J. Ciz the fact that he was being shadowed by two motor vehicles with Nitra license plates. On this occasion he voiced the suspicion that his shadowers were out to harm him physically. J. Ciz refused to record his testimony and reproached Robert R. for refusing to contact him with former SIS member Oskar F." In the SME report, Jaroslav Simunic, former investigator and co-owner of the firm for which Robert R. was working, reaffirms that the possibility of Robert R. having fallen victim to an attack by a debtor was "out of the question." Simunic is quoted as saying: "I do not consider his death coincidental. I

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

consider it a murder because every dictator must execute inconvenient people."

On the same day, on page 4, Bratislava SME in Slovak carries a 400-word commentary by Peter Toth entitled "Why Did Robert R. Die?" Toth opens the commentary by saying: "The political situation in Slovakia is becoming more and more complicated, also as a result of incidents such as the explosion of a car driven by the closest friend of Oskar F. Regardless of whether the car exploded as a result of a technical defect, whether this technical defect was intentionally caused by someone, or whether a hired murderer simply blew up the car by remote control, his death will raise endless questions and suspicions." In Toth's opinion, "suspicion is evoked also by the Interior Ministry's statement, issued only a few hours after the tragic event, that the blast had been caused by a defect in the gas-burning device and that the victim was working for a firm dealing with the collection of debts." The Interior Ministry spokesman's reference to Robert R.'s work for a company claiming the payment of debts "can only be considered a malice," according to Toth, because the company was using "strictly legal means" and Robert R. was never in direct contact with debtors.

Speaking about the possible motives of Robert R.'s death, Toth then says: "Robert R. was the closest friend of Oskar F., who had pointed to the SIS's participation in the abduction of Michal Kovac Jr. abroad. Many people in this country are interested in Oskar F. and many of them knew that the best way of getting to him was through Robert R. Robert R. rejected, however, all attempts by the investigators to persuade him to mediate this contact. This is perhaps the reason why the victim is not the person in hiding, but the person who helped him hide."

Slovakia: Media Council Warns Minority Broadcasts About Bias

LD0205154696 Bratislava Slovak Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 2 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Radio and Television Council of the Slovak Republic has withdrawn the broadcasting license from Radio Life, a radio station in Rimaszombat [Rimavska Sobota, southern Slovakia]. The council also levied fines of 20,000 and 50,000 crowns on Radio RMC and BTV [expansions unknown], a commercial television station, for not observing rules on advertising.

The Radio and Television Council also dealt with a periodic monitoring of minority broadcasts by Slovak Radio. According to the council, the minority program does not observe regulations on unbiased radio broadcasting laid down in the first indent of the ninth paragraph of Law No. 468/1991 on Radio and Television Broadcasting. The council decided to warn Slovak Radio for this.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Hungary: Government Wants Accelerated EU Expansion Talks

LD0405212996 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 4 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Slovakia faced criticism at the conference of the European Parliament's liberal parties in Pozsony [Bratislava]. The issue of minority rights was brought up by many. Ildiko Nagy reports from Pozsony.

[Begin Nagy recording] [Passage omitted] In his address, Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, Hungarian foreign affairs state secretary, outlined the Hungarian stance on European Union membership. According to this, the Hungarian Government believe that the Western partners consider Hungary to be a serious candidate. For this reason Hungary proposes that the talks be speeded up and made more intensive, and that the expansion of the EU be a primarily political decision rather than an economic one, with the emphasis on constitutional statehood and the guaranteeing of human and minority rights, Istvan Szent-Ivanyi said in Pozsony. [end recording]

Hungary: FM 'Surprised' by Slovak Prime Minister's Remarks

LD0405144496 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 4 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs is on the line. [passage omitted] What is your view on Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's statement?

[Kovacs] It has surprised me because the delay of the exchange of the ratification documents cannot be blamed on the Hungarian Government, as only the Hungarian side has such a document; the Slovak side has not ratified the treaty. [passage omitted]

The ratification takes place in Slovakia when Slovak President Michal Kovac signs it. He has not received the document from the Slovak Government to this day, so he has had nothing to sign, therefore there is no document to exchange.

[Announcer] Why do you think the Slovak Government blames the Hungarian Government?

[Kovacs] [Passage omitted] In the end the Slovak National Council adopted a three-point resolution. Point A of the resolution reads that the National Council supports the ratification of the treaty. Point B reads that the signing of the treaty does not mean that Slovakia has accepted the principle of collective minority rights or ethnic-based territorial autonomies. Point C of the resolution orders the Slovak Government to implement the treaty in the spirit of Point B.

We have received from the Slovak Government a memorandum on all this. We replied with a memorandum of our own, in which we welcomed the Slovak parliament's support for the ratification. We also stressed that the unilateral Slovak interpretation of the treaty had no legal consequence. [passage omitted] We also signalled our interest in exchanging, as soon as possible, the ratification documents, in accordance with international law and international conventions.

We have been waiting. [passage omitted] We have raised the issue several times with the Slovak side. They replied that it was not urgent, this was not a race, we should wait patiently for the end of the due process. [passage omitted]

Hungary: Official Criticizes Situation of Hungarians in Slovakia

AU0305142496 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 3 May 96 p 3

[Interview with Josef von Komlossy, deputy chairman of the Federal Union of European Nationalities, by "Sz.A"; place and date not given: "The Council of Europe Can Also Use Sanctions Against Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Josef von Komlossy, deputy chairman of the Federal Union of European Nationalities [FUEV], recently presented a critical report to the Council of Europe on the situation of ethnic Hungarians living in Slovakia, and his words elicited serious criticism from the Slovak side. Josef von Komlossy gave us details about the affair.

[Komlossy] My report exclusively referred to stipulations of international legal agreements. I mentioned proposals and obligations that Slovakia took upon itself to follow and implement when accepted as member of the Council of Europe; however, Slovakia is not carrying out its promise. Everything I said had concrete reasons, and it is not true that I had no justification in speaking negatively about the Slovak language law, the protection of minority rights, or the educational situation there. Point by point, and article by article, I mentioned the Slovak legal passages whose spirit and content are not compatible with European norms. Unfortunately, the Slovak press only published the reactions to my report without quoting a single sentence from my speech; This is hardly correct procedure. It was, however, correct on their part not to refer to my Hungarian origin, because I took the floor exclusively as the FUEV deputy chairman.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] In addition to noticing and analyzing the facts, what opportunity does the FUEV have to influence the given situation in a positive direction?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Komlossy] Given our advisory status both in the Council of Europe and the United Nations, we have the possibility to draw the attention of these organizations' legal committees to the measures and their consequences, which they had the opportunity to learn about in the course of the investigations carried out by the Council of Europe, like the one in Slovakia that started in March. In my report I stressed the fact that the Council of Europe investigation carried out in Slovakia on 14-15 March took place as a result of an order, and not a proposal. Thus, referring to Order No. 508, the Council of Europe calls upon Slovakia to implement all the obligations it took upon itself when becoming a member. If, after repeated observations, it turns out that the given country has failed to fulfill the requirements and obligations, first the country in question will be asked to carry out its obligations, and then its membership can be canceled. The main task of the FUEV is to provide reliable source material to the Council of Europe.

[UJ MAGYARORSZAG] Are you dealing with the preparations of the Romanian-Hungarian basic treaty? Do you examine the state of the national minorities in question well in advance?

[Komlossy] Let me make it clear that the FUEV is an international organization that nominated its deputy chairmen from among various nationalities. At present, our body of deputy chairmen is made up of two Slav, one Danish, one German, one South Tyrolian, and two new Latin deputies; the latter two have no country of their own, because one of them is a Breton and the other is a Rhaeto-Romanic. I myself am a Swiss citizen, and I represent all the Hungarian organizations that are FUEV members. As I said before, our task is to evaluate the situation and to examine all the sides; for example, we visited Gyula and its surroundings before Easter in order to learn the situation of ethnic Romanians living there. It is important to get a precise picture of the legal, political, economic, and cultural opportunities of the national minorities living on both sides of the border. In the course of such professional visits, we always contact the relevant government bodies of the country in question.

Hungary: New Plans Drafted for Central Investigating Office

AU0305145596 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 May 96 pp 1, 3

[Article by Karoly Lencses: "Open Investigation Only With the Permission of the Public Prosecutor—Superpolice With Limited Rights"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The investigating office of special cases would not be able to take over cases, and the public prosecutor's agreement would be needed to order an investigation—these, among others stipulations, are in the draft document to be discussed by the government next week. These are further elements guaranteeing that the investigating office would only be able to act in criminal cases defined by certain paragraphs of the Penal Code, and if the maximum prison sentence exceeds five years.

The first draft on the central investigating office, which was initiated by the prime minister, would have granted almost unlimited rights to the "superpolice." The office would have been able to take over cases as it wished, or could have returned them, without giving any reasons, to the investigating organization which had the sphere of authority anyway. In contrast, the new draft to be discussed by the government next week probably defines precisely in which cases of the Penal Code it can initiate proceedings, and only if the maximum prison sentence exceeds five years. According to court statistics, the number of such cases can be estimated at many thousands. This is similar to foreign practice; for example, the special fraud office in Britain can only intervene if the value in question reaches 1 million pounds. It is difficult to define in an exact way which cases endanger national economic interests, and therefore this condition is no longer included in the draft. The public prosecutor's approval will be needed to order an investigation. He will have to examine if a special criminal investigation interest is attached to uncovering the given case. In this way the government will not be able to interfere in the activities of the "special branch" in any way, because the prosecutor's office will remain responsible to parliament.

However, the situation is different in the area of secret service methods: Prior court permission is needed for telephone tapping, secret house searches, and for secret surveillance of premises, while the office's leader in charge of the given issue can decide on other measures, such as, for example, the employment of agents or secret observation. As the prosecutor's control will not operate in this area, the rules and elements guaranteeing this will have to be drawn up in precise detail.

At the same time, experts have called attention to the fact that even if the office is supervised by a minister without portfolio, this will not provide a chance for the government to intervene. In connection with this it was mentioned that in 1990, the Free Democrats would have placed the secret services directly under the prime minister's supervision, which is a politically very risky solution. This is the reason why a normative supervision level was created; however, the minister without portfolio can only supervise, and in theory cannot interfere in concrete cases. This solution has

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

proved to be correct, and the position of the central investigating office would be similar to this. According to our information, no personnel decisions have yet been made, and according to experts it would be a major political mistake if this organization was supervised by the minister without portfolio in charge of privatization or of the secret services, because incompatibility is obvious in both cases.

The setting up of the new organization does not require a change in the Constitution, but a minimal correction of laws requiring two-thirds majority might be necessary. For this reason, it is being examined if the data protection rules have to be amended because of the right to access—and possibly link—various data bases, and the setting up of new registers. In connection with employing secret service methods, it is possible that the law on the police will also have to be reassessed.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

B-H: Commentary Considers Kornblum's 5 May Visit to Bosnia

LD0305171896 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 2 May 96

[Commentary by correspondent Alija Nuhbegovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] John Kornblum, in charge of coordination for Bosnia-Herzegovina after Richard Holbrooke's withdrawal, is coming to the region on Sunday [5 May]. He will visit Sarajevo, Zagreb, and Belgrade to solve and remove the problems which are preventing Bosnian refugees from returnin to their homes.

The Serbs' violence against refugees worries the United States because it fears that NATO forces deployed here could find themselves in the same, almost useless role as the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] units had. It has been recalled that the UN troops have been accused of direct assistance to the Serb aggressor. It is obvious that Washington knows many details relating to the events around Doboj, Trnovo, Sanski Most, Kalesija, and other towns [when Muslim refugees tried to visit their homes]. That is why the clear message from Washington is: if another similar incident occurs, IFOR [Implementation Force] can easily be compared to UNPROFOR. Therefore, there is no alternative to NATO troops ensuring [the implementation of] the Dayton agreement.

Kornblum will point out to the key sides that there are procedures regulating the return of groups of refugees: the UNHCR escorts the refugees to their homes and IFOR is nearby at full combat alert. But, everything was organized in exactly that way when the latest incidents occurred, so American officials are perplexed over why what happened happened. Kornblum's mission is to make it clear to IFOR what its role is and what it needs to do in similar situations. The concern for the elections, which can be jeopardized most by a restriction of movement, is understandable, but it is impossible to change anything as long as [Radovan] Karadzic and [Ratko] Mladic are being listened to. Demands are coming from Washington again that they should step down.

B-H: Reconstruction Cooperation Accord Signed With U.S.

AU0305183796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Republican Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic and U.S. Ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina John Menzies signed a bilateral agreement on economic and scientific-technical cooperation between Bosnia-Herzegovina and the United States in the Presidency building today. After the signing, Federation President Zubak and Vice President Ejup Ganic signed the letter on accepting the aid in question. Here is a report by Miralem Zubcevic:

[Begin recording] [Zubcevic] After the signing, the first to address the journalists was Ambassador John Menzies, who expressed pleasure at attending this very significant [word indistinct] that will provide a stimulus for the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Menzies in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] The document we signed today provides us with a framework for cooperation with the people and Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are going to cooperate with all colleagues of the international community and with everybody in this country on monitoring and executing a new program of restoration and reconstruction for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The international community has developed a three-year program amounting to $3 billion for the reconstruction of the country. This program will help develop the rich potentials of Bosnia-Herzegovina and will use its resources to the fullest extent. Efforts will be directed toward resumption of (?the standard of living) that has been destroyed in the war, reconstructing the economy, and creating places of work.

It may seem sometimes that the aid is slow to arrive, but you will see now that it will start coming suddenly. Tomorrow in Tuzla we shall initiate the $25 million program for urgent repair of residential places. To this program, the U.S. Development Agency will add the program for development of municipal [word indisitnct]. This program will restore public services for both individuals and firms.

Through another program that will begin next week, loans will be given to private firms. Private firms will be enabled to obtain spare parts, raw materials, and capital for initiating projects. We hope that this program will make it possible for thousands of Bosniaks to begin working again.

[Zubcevic] The last to speak was our prime minister, Hasan Muratovic, who thanked the U.S. Government and Mr. Menzies personally. Muratovic spoke about some details of the signed agreement and added the following:

[Muratovic] Allow me to express special pleasure that the big project of investing in the housing fund in the Tuzla region will begin already tomorrow and that granting loans to private entrepreneurs will begin very soon.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

We extend special thanks to the team that had set priorities to which it first of all included employment through loans to enterprises. I hope that the U.S. aid assigned for this year will begin to be realized in the quickest possible way, and that this sum granted by the U.S. Governme[illegible] will not be the only one and that U.S. entrepreneurs will also join this project and U.S. nongovernmental bodies will also continue with proffering help [word indistinct].

[Zubcevic] President Kresimir Zubak and Vice President Ejup Ganic addressed journalists on behalf of the Federation. They expressed thanks for the aid to our country. At the end, Mr. Zubak said the following:

[Zubak] Mr. Ganic and I today signed a letter through which we confirm that the Federation will fully help the realization of this agreement that was signed by Mr. Muratovic on behalf of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Mr. Menzies on behalf of the United States. Therefore, [words indistinct] Federation will fully join the realization of the agreement. I once again thank Mr. Menzies and his assistants on behalf of the people of the Federation and all its officials. [end recording]

B-H: Izetbegovic Pays First Visit to Gorazde

LD0405185996 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A Bosnia-Herzegovina Government delegation visited Gorazde today. The delegation was led by Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic. Dzevad Dziho reports from Gorazde:

[Dziho] In spite of the rain, a large number of Gorazde residents today welcomed President Izetbegovic in his first visit to this town. Among members of the state delegation were also Hasan Muratovic and Izudin Kapetanovic, the prime ministers of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federation, and Army General Rasim Delic, the commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic Army Headquarters.

The high state delegation was received by the leaders of the Gorazde district and municipality. They informed the guests about the current situation in the town after the signing of the peace accord and several months of living in conditions of peace. There was also talk on the kick-start of the economy and on employment opportunities for demobilized soldiers.

It was exactly on today's date [words indistinct] four years ago the first attack on Gorazde. That attack, as many attacks that followed, was repelled and this great town remained invincible.

After the meeting with local leaders, President Izetbegovic greeted a large number of assembled Gorazde residents. The meeting was moving.

On the road to Gorazde, Izetbegovic inspected [words indistinct] of the Division of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

B-H: Izetbegovic Promises Whole Republic Will Be Liberated

LD0405211696 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 4 May 96

[Dispatch by correspondent Dzevad Dhiho from Gorazde]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Dhiho] Thousands of citizens of Gorazde and other people of the Drina River valley who had spent the war in Gorazde gave a tumultuous reception this evening to Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and members of the state delegation who visited Gorazde today.

President Izetbegovic spoke to a large gathering of Gorazde citizens, addressing the children of the town in particular. He said that Gorazde, Sarajevo, and other towns should not be remembered only as places of suffering, but as examples of how to resist force and injustice. Gorazde should be remembered as our duty to stay and survive on the Drina R[illegible]r, Izetbegovic said. They have not and they will not expel us; we will return to all the places they have expelled us from and our struggle will not be over until the whole of Bosnia is free, Izetbegovic said. Our children will liberate the whole of Bosnia, he said. History has taught us that not a single honest man of ours can be unarmed; every single one will have a rifle to defend himself, Izetbegovic said.

He concluded by saying that Gorazde was one of our priorities, Gorazde is not a dying town; it will live on and this is where our struggle for the return to the Drina River begins, he said. The whole of Bosnia will be Gorazde; it will be a crucial stage in which we must not and will not be defeated, President Izetbegovic said, ending his address to the people of Gorazde. [passage omitted]

B-H: Muratovic Discusses Cooperation With Croatia's Seks

AU0205184696 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Hasan Muratovic, prime minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today received a delegation of the Croatian Assembly led by

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Vladimir Seks, vice chairman of the Chamber of Representatives of the Croatian Assembly.

During their meeting, they summed up the efforts made so far by the Governments of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia on establishing interstate and economic cooperation, and stressed the importance of these relations for the functioning of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

During the one-hour talks, they exchanged views on the current problems in bringing the Federation into life, elections, relations between the entities, and the harmonization of legal regulations with the Dayton agreement.

B-H: Croatian, Bosnian Assembly Chairmen Discuss Federation

AU0205134696 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 May 96

[Report by Mehmedalija Sisic on news conference by Miro Lazovic, Assembly chairman of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Vladimir Seks, Assembly Chamber of Representatives chairman of the Republic of Croatia, and Mariofil Ljubic, Assembly chairman of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Sarajevo on 2 May—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Sisic] Miro Lazovic, Assembly chairman of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said that this visit was a continuation of good cooperation following the very useful recent visit by the parliamentary delegation of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Croatia. Assessing today's talks, Lazovic stressed:

[Lazovic] The key issue discussed today as well was the implementation of the Dayton agreement—that is, the federation project. It is very important that we again today reiterated our commitment to the fact that there is no alternative to the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also that the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina is the key to the stability and peace in this region, and that the Republic of Croatia—as one of the key countries on which the implementation of the Dayton agreement depends—will do all it can to make sure that the Dayton agreement is implemented to the letter. This is very important to us since we consider the Dayton agreement the key to the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We also stressed our commitment to have the federation project implemented fully as soon as possible, since we believe it is the key to the preservation of a unified Bosnia-Herzegovina.

That is why we believe this visit to be very important. We have agreed that the cooperation and talks between the two parliaments should be more frequent in the future.

[Sisic] Vladimir Seks, who is leading the delegation of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, had this to say about the talks:

[Seks] The Assembly of the Republic of Croatia, both its chambers—the Chamber of Counties and the Chamber of Representatives—believes that this is yet just a beginning, this return visit is only the beginning of a lasting and continuous cooperation between the assemblies of Bosnia-Herzegovina and [words indistinct] in Zagreb to discuss in a constructive way and atmosphere a series of issues that are connected to the implementation of the Washington, Dayton, and all the other agreements [words indistinct] and jointly conclude that the federation project is truly necessary for peace and stability in this part of the world, that it is necessary for the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state, as a whole. There are clearly differing views. We spoke in good faith, and good faith means that [words indistinct] from Dayton, particularly that the Bosniak and Croat people have to build all relations on the basis of equality and constitutionality in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and we have to identify the obstacles so that we can overcome and remove them in interparliamentary cooperation.

[Sisic] Stressing the joint view that the federation project has no alternative, Federation Assembly Chairman Mariofil Ljubic said the following:

[Ljubic] We have agreed on concrete forms of cooperation in the coming period. Of course it will be necessary to solve issues at the level of the working bodies of the assembly and the federation [words indistinct] they can have a positive effect on the work of our governments, and the governments should be more effective in strengthening the ties between the Republic of Croatia and the Federation and Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina since that is the condition [passage indistinct].

B-H: Zagreb, IFOR Officials Skeptical About Mines Accord

AU0405135196 Paris AFP in English 2249 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, May 4 (AFP)—Friday's announcement of an international accord to restrict anti-personnel mines was greeted with scepticism in Bosnia and Croatia where up to eight million mines remain after more than four years of war.

"For us, it's too late," Croatian Interior Ministry official Damir Cemerin told AFP. "Croatia is one of a number

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

of countries affected by mines. Our proposal is to stop production."

Western experts have varying estimates on the number of mines in Bosnia and Croatia. The multinational forces in Bosnia, IFOR, estimate that six million mines were in stock before the war and production continued during it.

"In Croatia and Bosnia, there could be a total of six to eight million mines, mostly in connection with confrontation lines," Knut Greve, IFOR operation officer for mines, said.

Other Western experts put the figure at three million.

The indiscriminating nature of mines is highlighted by the casualties.

On Wednesday, a Serb man was reportedly killed in northern Bosnia when he strayed into a minefield while picking mushrooms, and the Croatian Interior Ministry reported earlier this year that 271 children had been killed and 972 injured by mines since 1991.

Greve welcomed moves to make the mines more detectable but was sceptical about attempts to impose other controls.

"Personally, I think that some countries will follow the rules but a lot of countries just don't care," he said.

Under the international agreement adopted by the conference in Geneva, mines must be detectable by commonly-available equipment and must self-destruct or deactivate after a set time period. Exports and imports are also restricted.

Greve said that mines would continue to pose a problem for both Bosnia and Croatia well into the next century.

"It will take 30 years to clear the minefields in Bosnia if you have 1,000 mine-clearers working full time, but there are not so many mine-clearers," he said.

According to the Croatian Interior Ministry, 200,000 mines have already been cleared from Croatian territory. UNICEF, the UN Children's Fund, is currently carrying out an information campaign in Bosnia and Croatia aimed at educating children not to play with mines.

B-H: Sides Reported 'Close To' Finalizing Boundary Line

AU0305192096 Paris AFP in English 1859 GMT 3 May 96

[Report by Jacques Charmelot]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, May 3 (AFP)—Bosnia's former warring parties are close to finalising the course of the boundary line that divides Bosnia into two entities, officials said Friday.

At a meeting in Sarajevo, officials from the Moslem-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic made "substantive progress" in deciding on final changes to the 1,000 kilometre (600 mile) line first agreed under the Dayton peace accords, the spokesman for the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR) said.

Major Simon Haselock said the lengthy meeting Thursday, carried out under IFOR auspices, had come "very close to finalising" the boundary line.

"There are still one or two sticking points, and there will be another final meeting (but) we are greatly encouraged and there was champagne being popped in the headquarters last night," Haselock said.

For most of its course, the boundary line follows the route of the old frontlines that were established during the three-and-a-half year war. The only major changes to the frontlines were made around Sarajevo, in central Bosnia, around the town of Mrkomjic Grad and in southern Bosnia around the town of Mostar.

However when the line was originally drawn, around 400 sites were disputed by the various parties, ranging from deciding whether a well or house should lie in one entity or another to disputes about the "ownership" of entire villages.

According to Mugdim Cukle, head of the Bosnian negotiating team, the meeting held Thursday, the 26th since NATO began chairing these talks, made significant progress towards resolving the last points of disagreement.

These include the issue of the Sarajevo suburb Dobrinja which is split in two between Moslems and Serbs, the fate of a series of villages in Zvornik, eastern Bosnia, and the future of a handful of villages in northern Bosnia near the Croat-held town of Orasje.

"The other side have reduced their requests to a more realistic level.... We have accepted in principle a solution for many locations...which then have to be ratified by both governments," Cukle said.

A source close the talks said progress had been made most notably because "the Serbs have separated the Dobrinja issue from the rest."

The finalisation of the line comes as officials overseeing the peace process are turning the boundary into more a fixed and sealed border than the weak internal boundary line envisioned in the Dayton accords, signed in December.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Moslem refugees have in the past few weeks clashed violently with hostile Serbs determined not to let them return to what is now Serb-held land and reclaim the homes they were forced out of during the war.

On Monday, three Moslems were killed by suspected Serbs and several more were injured in the worst such clash so far.

Speaking to AFP Friday in Lopare, northern Bosnia, a senior Serb official admitted that the border issue was of "much more interest" to Serb authorities than the freedom of movement the Moslems are demanding.

"What we want here is a border. When we have that, then maybe we will talk about something else," said the official who asked not to be named.

B-H: Izetbegovic Receives EU Mostar Administrator

AU0305190396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic today received Ricardo Perez Casado, new EU administrator for Mostar, and his assistants. The talks touched upon the situation in Mostar, about which it was said that it has been gradually, albeit, very slowly, improving. Special attention was devoted to the organization of the forthcoming elections in Mostar. In conformity with the Dayton accord, President Izetbegovic confirmed our firm stand that participation in the elections should be made possible to all Mostar citizens who were permanent residents of that city before the beginning of the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina, including thousands of expellees who are temporarily residing in other (?countries).

B-H: Ganic, EU's Casado on Mostar Elections, Human Rights

AU0305170496 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency and vice president of the Federation, and Jadranko Prlic, foreign minister of the Republic, have received new European Mostar Administrator Ricardo Perez Casado in Sarajevo today. The talks touched upon all the current issues in Mostar and their solutions. Following the meeting and the talks, Ejup Ganic and Perez Casado held a news conference on the talks. Here is a report by Mehmedalija Sisic:

[Begin recording] [Sisic] Following the talks, the first to address the journalists was Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency and vice president of the Federation:

[Ganic] It was an exceptional honor for me to be host to the new Mostar administrator in Sarajevo today so that we could exchange views on further steps. We talked about the need for human rights to be (?strictly) respected in Mostar. Without a strict respect for human rights in this European experiment, which is what Mostar represents, no considerable progress can be made. Therefore, the strict respect for human rights will make it possible [word indistinct] in Mostar. We also talked about private property. Private property [words indistinct]. We also talked about the elections. The elections were also touched upon at the meeting [words indistinct] Izetbegovic. [words indistinct]. The European Union should enable the people to vote, either in Mostar or in Europe where they are. Therefore, elections in Mostar will give [words indistinct] and quality of the level of democracy upon which Europe is insisting, for you know that [word indistinct] elections on the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

So these were the key topics that we talked about, with the comment here that the Republican Presidency, the Federation Presidency, the Republican Government, and the Federation Government are available [words indistinct].

[Sisic] In his statement for journalists, Mr. Casado first gave thanks for the reception by the most prominent Bosnia-Herzegovina leaders. Then he said that he was grateful for the [word indistinct] that they could talk about the most important topics, and for him that was Mostar.

[Casado in unidentified language with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] As the vice president, president, and foreign minister have said, we [word indistinct] our concern and our positions on the elections, private property, and human rights. I must say that I shall convey these stands to the EU, the Presidency of the Union, and individual governments. We are aware of the importance that Mostar has as an example for elections. We need everybody's support for the elections. Those who will [word indistinct] are the Mostar people. I believe that these elections will be held within the planned term and under the conditions that allow electoral rights to be enjoyed to the greatest extent. Finally, I emphasize once again that we have come here to cooperate and have been met with very good cooperation. It is our wish to continue that way. [end recording]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

B-H: Mayor Views Possible Postponement of Mostar Elections

LD0405172696 Mostar Radio-Televizija Mostar Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 4 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Italian Deputy Foreign Minister Luigi Ferraris and EU Ambassador Alfedo Matacotta had talks in Mostar yesterday with mayors of both sides of the town, Safet Orucevic [eastern side] and Mijo Brajkovic [western side]. After the meeting, Mayor Orucevic gave a short interview to Alija Behram, the director of Radio-Television Mostar.

[Begin recording] [Orucevic] We spoke exclusively on the right of all Mostar citizens throughout the world to vote at the first local elections in Mostar. Our view was that the residence of all the displaced is still Mostar and that the EU and all other countries must enable every single citizen of Mostar, irrespective of nationality, to exercise their basic right to vote for the city council and for the six municipal councils.

That is our view and we will defend it in all our future negotiations. I think that Mr. Izetbegovic, representing our highest leadership, had an identical view in talks with Mr. Casado [EU administrator for Mostar].

[Behran] How did the Italian diplomats react to this?

[Orucevic] We assured them and reminded them of the events during the negotiations in Rome when the agreement on Mostar was reached and when the Croat side was undermining Koschnick's plan with arguments that in the districts citizens had lost their basic right to elect local authorities. I do not believe that the Croat side can now withdraw the same right to 20,000, even more, 30,000 citizens of Mostar who live throughout the world.

A large number of Croats, Serbs, and Bosniaks do not live in the city at this moment. Let them vote for the people they believe can make one single city, return them home. Then the European Union could say that it had successfully completed its mandate in Mostar. It could be satisfied. In the event of the contrary being realized its final act could be a political debacle.

[Behran] Do you think that the citizens of Mostar scattered throughout the world will have the chance to have a say on the people who will govern their city?

[Orucevic] If they are not given that chance, if the EU Presidency does not give them that chance, they will have withdrawn from them the right to be people as they are not citizens of these countries, and if they are not given the right to elect authorities in the city from which they were either expelled or they had left, I think this will mean depriving them of the very basic human right.

There are many reasons for not holding the elections—the freedom of the media, difficulties in conducting political activity, insufficient freedom of movement, nonfunctioning of the police force. We have said that we will not raise these objections. All we are asking for is the right to vote. Only then will the people who are elected be able fight to realize the other rights that the European Union had not succeeded in realizing in the two years it was here.

So, by the right to vote and by electing the city and municipal councils, we are given a new chance and a new hope in the battle for Mostar to become a single city and to realize all the basic human rights that still do not exist not only in Mostar, but throughout the federation and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Behram] So, the diplomats were neither for nor against your initiative?

[Orucevic] I do not think they have anything against it except the deadlines stemming from the Dayton agreement. As it appears that everything is late in the Dayton agreement, we propose a (?postponement of elections for) a couple of weeks or month in Mostar. It will not mean much if this is going to be the right ending for the first democratic elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina for which there is agreement from both sides—and that is very important. [end recording]

B-H: Muslims Raid Croatian Village North of Sarajevo

LD0505194396 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 5 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kotor Varos, 5 May (SRNA)—Bosnian Muslim Army soldiers this morning raided the Croatian village of Dastansko near Vares and abducted a number of Croats, Novi Travnik Croat radio reported today.

According to the same source, the Muslim soldiers also demolished several business premises in Dastansko and targeted the local Catholic church with a powerful explosive device.

The Muslims withdrew from Dastansko at noon and we are still waiting for other details on the consequences of the criminal behavior of Izetbegovic's soldiers, Novi Travnik radio said.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

B-H: Over 30,000 Refugees Return to Sanski Most

AU0305153296 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] We have learned from the Office for Refugees and Displaced Persons in Sanski Most that so far about 30,000 citizens have returned to Sanski Most. Over the past three months 10,000 citizens have returned. From Norway and Gasinci [refugee camp], refugees are returning in an organized manner, and 90 percent of all the others are doing so as well. Individual arrivals are made difficult due to formalities such as documents. The greatest problem is transit through Croatia; nobody knows at the moment the basic reason for that.

In Sanski Most there is the Office for Refugees and Displaced Persons, where all returnees are supposed to register upon their arrival. The office is helping the authorities as much as it can to allocate rationally the space for accommodation. Returnees are being accommodated in vacant houses, and any surplus facilities in occupied houses will be used as well. In any case, nobody has been turned down or spent a night uncared for. The municipality has not received any funds for the repair of destroyed buildings, whereas demands for aid are exceeding the minimal resources that are available. For the time being, nobody is hungry, for those who want to work there is enough work to be done, and the municipality is expecting financial aid for the reconstruction of devastated villages as well.

B-H: UNHCR Against Unilateral Return of Refugees to Bosnia

LD0305170396 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1608 GMT 3 May 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, May 3 (TANJUG)—Ron Redmond, spokesman of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees said Friday UNHCR was opposed to unilateral actions by certain Western European countries regarding the return of refugees to Bosnia and to their fixing return dates.

Redmond told reporters in Geneva that this concerned namely two countries, Germany and Switzerland, which have already determined when the Bosnia-Herzegovina refugees are to return.

A special problem is posed by Germany, which has some 320,000 out of a total of 700,000 refugees in Western Europe. Even earlier, the Germans had decided to start their repatriation on July 1.

Switzerland hosts a little under 20,000 Bosnia refugees and the Swiss federal government has decided that the first group of 8,000 should return to Bosnia by August 1.

Redmond said the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees had warned the German Government conditions were not ripe for the return of refugees to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

As far as Switzerland is concerned Redmond only said he hoped the Swiss would realise that conditions were not met for the mass return of refugees.

Redmond said the UNHCR was now facing a new problem, attempts of displaced persons, mostly groups of Muslims, to visit their towns and houses which are now under the control of the other entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He said there had been about 30 such attempts in the past few weeks and that only 12 groups managed to unhindredly visit their homes or family graves.

Regarding the mass return of refugees it is now quite clear that it will not take place for a certain time simply because the minimum conditions for this have not been created.

One of the problems does seem to be solved however, the way the refugees will vote.

It was decided at a meeting held recently in the U.N. Geneva headquarters which was organised under the auspices of the UNHCR and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) that the best and most efficient way for the refugees to vote was by post.

This decision shows that neither the UNHCR nor the OSCE believe in any mass return of refugees before September.

B-H: 'Nine for Nine' Project To Facilitate Refugee Return

AU0305154296 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 May 96

[Report by Sabahudin Vico—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Clashes between units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] ceased in early 1994. Since then, not a single Bosniak or Croat family has returned to its home. Sabahudin Vico reports from Novi Travnik on the fate of the latest project proposed by UNFOR [as heard] called "Nine for Nine."

[Vico] The Dayton accord, that is, its section referring to the return of all refugees and displaced persons to their houses or apartments, has given hope to both sides

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

that the return is imminent. What speaks in favor of this assertion at the moment is the fact that the UNHCR, that is, UNFOR, has offered to Bosniak and Croat officials a pilot project of return called "Nine for Nine." That is, UNFOR offers construction material for the repair of nine apartment buildings on the territory controlled by the legal authorities of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and for the same number of apartment buildings on the territory under the HVO control. As [name indistinct], secretary of the Secretariat for General Management and Social Activities informed us, the Bosniak side is very interested in the project. This secretariat receives on a daily basis inquiries from Bosniak refugees whose only wish is to return to their homes. Bosniaks are particularly interested in their houses in the town center, while the Croatian side is showing interest in the village of (?Fec).

The proposed project of return "Nine for Nine" is a step forward toward the restoration of broken links. However, most probably its implementation will not follow as quickly as those living in alien environments would want it to. This whole month will pass in intensive talks and consultations between UNFOR and both sides, with the aim of realizing the "Nine for Nine" project in the course of summer, that is, until early fall.

B-H: Bildt Associate Heads Reconstruction Meeting in Ugljevik

AU0405200196 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 May 96

[Report by Vlado Trisic on a meeting of the joint civilian committee for implementation of the Dayton accord for sector northeast and economic reconstruction task forces in Ugljevik on 2 May]

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting of the joint task force for sector northeast of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina was held in Ugljevik today. Vlado Trisic has a report.

[Trisic] A meeting of the joint civilian committee for the implementation of the Dayton accord for sector northeast and the economic reconstruction task forces was held in Ugljevik today. Representative [name indistinct], president of the [word indistinct] civilian committee, headed the Serb delegation, while the delegation of the Tuzla-Podrinje canton was headed by Muhamed [second name indistinct], minister for the reconstruction of the canton. The meeting was chaired by [name indistinct], Carl Bildt's associate in charge of the economic reconstruction.

The aim of the meeting was to exchange opinions on the economic problems of the two areas in the reconstruction and reparation of infrastructure facilities, the development of trade, and possible economic connections between the companies of this part of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and the Tuzla canton.

The next meeting of the task forces was scheduled for 24 May, when the specific priorities concerning the reconstruction of the area are to be determined.

B-H: Karadzic Interviewed on Refugees, War Crimes

LD0405084296 Rome RAI Radio Uno Network in Italian 0600 GMT 4 May 96

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serb Republic, by Marcello Gollini in Pale; date not given—recorded; Karadzic speaks in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed translation into Italian]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Karadzic] At the first Lisbon conference, Lord Carrington maintained that it was necessary to create a Bosnia of two confederated parts, not three. This, for us, has never been fair. Certainly, agreement can be reached as long as the European Union is impartial toward the Serb Republic and the Croat-Muslim Federation.

[Gollini] What is the internal situation in Serbian Bosnia?

[Karadzic] Normal, from the political point of view. In four years we have had no internal problems. Now we only have problems from the economic and commercial point of view. But when full employment returns these will end, too.

[Gollini] You have another major problem, if I may say so: that of refugees. There are millions, in Serbian Bosnia too.

[Karadzic] We have war refugees and those caused by the Dayton agreement, which drew up new borders. The problem is also the fault of the European Community. It gave $260 million to the Croat-Muslim Federation, and nothing to the Serb Republic.

[Gollini] At this point in the interview I asked Karadzic if he knew what had happened in July 1995, the terrible affair of the mass graves discovered in Srebrenica. He denied any such discoveries. Maybe the evidence of the massacres means nothing to him. He went on to say:

[Karadzic] Rather, more than 50 common graves have been discovered in the Drina valley, in Serbian territory. There is one at Mrkonjic Grad with 181 people, all civilians. I am sure that my commanders have followed the orders I gave. They have always respected the Geneva conventions. You know that recently Muslim civilians have tried to enter Serb territory. The Serbs there opposed them, and they argued.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Gollini] If you are so sure of what you have just said, then why do you not hand yourself over to the judges of the international tribunal in The Hague, and, with documents in hand, clear your name?

[Karadzic] Ever since the penal system of ancient Rome, it has not been for the accused to prove his own innocence. Therefore, it is the Hague tribunal, which to us is not legitimate, which must do so.

[Gollini] That is all from Pale.

B-H: Karadzic Denies Giving 'Orders' To Carry Out 'Atrocities'

LD0405141796 Lisbon RDP Antena 1 Radio Network in Portuguese 1300 GMT 4 May 96

[Interview with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic by Portuguese correspondents in Bosnia; date not given—recorded; in English with superimposed translation into Portuguese]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Karadzic] We all live, we all work, we all die. What is going to happen to me is the same that is going to happen to any human creature. I am...[pauses] obliged to do the best for my people, and I will do exactly what is the best for my people. Let the people decide. This is a democracy anyway. Democracy should not be interfered with by any pressure or by any limitation, otherwise it is not democracy.

[Correspondent Ricardo Alexandre] You do not give much importance to the fact that you and other politicians are expected to be judged in the Hague tribunal.

[Karadzic] Any judiciary and any law gives the presumption of innocence. Nobody is guilty or responsible until proven otherwise [as heard]. So, I am not responsible or guilty.

With regard to this war, this tribunal.... [pauses] This is not legal, this is no tribunal. I have done what I had to do for my people. I gave no orders for atrocities to be carried out, and my generals and my officers never gave any orders allowing or facilitating atrocities.

However, I am sure that civilians did commit some atrocities on all sides. [passage omitted]

B-H: Kasagic, Former U.S. Senator Mitchell Hold Talks

LD0305201196 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bosnian] Serb Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic held talks today with George Mitchell, the former U.S. Senator and representative of the international crises group. They discussed the implementation of the Dayton agreement and assistance this organization could offer. The Serb prime minister stressed that they had discussed the Serb Republic's cooperation with the Hague Tribunal, and that the Serb Republic did not refuse to cooperate with the Tribunal, but that the issue of handing over alleged war criminals was not provided for in the Serb Republic's Constitution. I tried to explain that there is no future for the people who extradite their national leaders, who put themselves at the head of the people, and prevented the recurrence of genocides that happened during the First and the Second World War, Kasagic said.

Former U.S. Senator George Mitchell said that the international crises group was a nonprofit organization that does not provide assistance directly, but negotiates with governments and international organizations, thus trying to help with the reconstruction of the Serb Republic.

Serb Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha took part in the talks today.

B-H: Kasagic on Bosnian Serb Government, Peace Process

BR0305124696 Paris LE MONDE in French 3 May 96 p 4

[Interview with Bosnian Serb Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic by Remy Ourdan in Banja Luka; date not given: "You Must Not Ask for What Is Unacceptable—A Veritable State"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka—[Ourdan] There is growing friction between Pale and Banja Luka. Is this placing your government in danger?

[Kasagic] The [Bosnian] Serb Republic has but one government and I am its prime minister. An attempt was made to break the government, but it failed. Like myself, a majority of members of Parliament believe that we must open our borders to Europe and the world. On the other hand, I want the government to set itself up here in Banja Luka. In Pale there is no government institution. In fact, there is nothing except snow six months a year. In Pale it is always winter, with or without snow. We must change capital. Karadzic (the "president of the Serb Republic"—LE MONDE editor's note) and Krajisnik (the "president of the Parliament"—LE MONDE editor's note) do not share this opinion, but the Parliament will make its own decision on this. Karadzic is not a membe of Parliament and Krajisnik only represents one vote, namely, his own.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Ourdan] Would you be ready to accept the return of Muslims and Croats chased out of the Banja Luka region during the conflict?

[Kasagic] The Serb Republic is calling for reciprocity. The Muslims insist on being allowed to return to their villages, but they are not authorizing any Serbs to enter their territory. Whatever happens, living together means another war in the future, which nobody wants. Thanks to the Dayton agreement, we have a chance for peace, with Bosnia divided into two entities.

[Ourdan] Is your objective still to gather together all the Serbs from the former Yugoslavia in a single state?

[Kasagic] We cannot achieve this dream yet and I am satisfied with our status as a Serbian entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Moreover, we have the right to establish "special relations" with Serbia. The Serbian Democratic Party must be restructured, otherwise it will lose the elections. Some people should understand that you should not ask for what is unacceptable. With the Dayton agreement, we cannot demand that the Serb Republic become a veritable state. I feel close to Slobodan Milosevic, he is realistic. Asking for more would be equivalent to suicide.

[Ourdan] Do you think that the war is over?

[Kasagic] Must we continue to die because some people are still bitter? The normal people on all three sides do not want any more war. We must establish mutual trust and develop economic cooperation. When the people have found work again they will no longer care about politics and will forget their hatred.

B-H: Kasagic Urges Brcko Resolution Before Arbitration

LD0305124496 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0934 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 3 May (TANJUG)—Rajko Kasagic, prime minister of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, told TANJUG today that the Brcko issue should be resolved by political means, before any arbitration.

"Arbitration will be undertaken formally, but before this we should engage many friendly countries to help us reach a just solution to the Brcko issue," he said.

"If the Muslims were able to obtain their corridor to Gorazde, which is between 8 and 15 km wide, why should the Serbs not be able to achieve a similarly favorable resolution of the Brcko issue?" Kasagic asked.

The prime minister of the Serb Republic recalled that the narrowest strip of Serb Republic territory near Brcko is between 6 and 8 km wide and, according to most interpretations of the Dayton agreement, the border between the Serb Republic and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation is in dispute here.

According to Kasagic, the nature of the dispute itself is still unresolved and Carl Bildt, the high representative for Bosnia-Herzegovina, has said that he will establish the nature of the dispute and thus enable the arbitration work to go ahead.

"I am convinced that the dispute should be dealt with at some 'higher level', before any arbitration," Kasagic concluded.

B-H: Kasagic, Bildt Discuss Closer Ties to Federation

LD0605114896 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1025 GMT 6 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 6 May (SRNA)—Rajko Kasagic, [Bosnian] Serb Republic prime minister, held talks with the international community's high representative, Carl Bildt, in Banja Luka today. They discussed the promotion of economic and political cooperation between the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat Federation.

"We focused on freedom of movement, in line with the Dayton agreement, and in order to ensure this, we have announced the possibility of introducing bus routes, reconnecting the electricity distribution network, and reviving the economy," Kasagic said after the meeting with the high representative of the international community.

Bildt insisted that the movement of citizens from one entity to the other has to be organized "in a satisfactory way," and that local police have to be deployed "in order to protect the safety of people and territory."

They also discussed preparations for the forthcoming elections in the Serb Republic.

At about 1600, Bildt will visit the building housing the Medical Electronics firm where the UN office for civilian issues is expected to open.

B-H: Kasagic Views Meeting With British Businessmen

AU0405200796 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At the meeting held in London on 29 April with British businessmen, 2,360 programs on the reconstruction of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic were presented, primarily those on the construction of road and railroad structures and the reconstruction of

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

the electrical manufacturing system and telecommunications. The investment processes may start as early as this June.

Viewing the London meeting, which was attended by representatives of the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat Federation, prime minister of the Serb Republic, Rajko Kasagic, stated today that [word indistinct] the reconstruction of the Banja Luka-Doboj-Tuzla-Zvornik railroad may start [words indistinct]. He specified that the investment that will be made in Bosnia-Herzegovina will not be a financial one, but that Britain would finance the program of [words indistinct]. This will benefit both, since the Serb Republic will be connected with British technology, which means that we are becoming involved in the British market and mutually independent, which aspect of cooperation we will accept, said he.

The prime minister added that talks were held with the British foreign minister, Malcolm Rifkind, about cooperation between the two countries. We talked about removing the obstacles to peace, and it was evident in London that we were on the way of peace, progress, and becoming part of the European and international market, said Kasagic.

B-H: Serb General Sees IFOR Move as Influencing 'Events'

LD0405151396 Pale Srpska Radio-Televizija First Program Serb Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] General Momir Talic, commander of the 1st Krajina Corps of the Bosnian Serb Republic army, has described yesterday's move of the IFOR [Implementation Force] British contingent headquarters from Gornji Vakuf [federal territory] to Banja Luka [Serb-controlled] as an attempt to influence implementation of the civilian aspect of the Dayton agreement.

Since the military aspect of the Dayton agreement has been fully honored, the move of IFOR headquarters can be seen as their intention to influence the events in Banja Luka, Talic said for BK Television [private Serbian television station].

B-H: Trebinje Mayor: Belgrade Siding With Internationalists

LD0505191596 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1219 GMT 5 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 5 May (SRNA)—Trebinje Mayor Bozidar Vucurevic has told SRNA that international coordinator Carl Bildt's standpoints on the Bosnian Serb Republic and its leadership, expressed during his visit to Montenegro, are unfortunately identical with the opinion of certain Montenegrin and Serbian politicians.

"There is a scenario whereby the Serb Republic should share the fate of the Republic of Serb Krajina. That is why I am surprised by the fact that Bildt is not paying more visits to Serbia and Montenegro," Vucurevic said.

Asked about the upcoming elections, he said that "the Serbs are a democratic nation, but they will not allow anyone to impose candidates on them."

"If they dispute our nomination of President Karadzic, we will carry out a referendum and let the people of the Serb Republic decide whether Karadzic should stand as a candidate in the elections," Vucurevic added.

He also said it is immoral that "certain parties from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are conducting their election campaigns throughout the Serb Republic without previously contributing to its defense."

According to Vucurevic, the Serbian and Montenegrin leaders are siding with the international community, which is not favorably inclined toward the Serb Republic, which is why a council of national salvation should be set up in order to save the nation and the state.

B-H: Koljevic Wants Election Deadlines Met, Brcko Resolved

LD0505205596 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1256 GMT 5 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac, 5 May (TANJUG)—Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Bosnian Serb Republic, told Kragujevac radio today that the Bosnian election deadlines should be respected so that legitimate bodies may be set up and authorized to solve the problems of the Muslim-Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic.

Koljevic said that the elections will ease some of the concerns of the people in both the Federation and the Serb Republic, as well as tensions between citizens.

Koljevic favors the provision allowing people to vote not only in their place of residence, but also in places in which they want to live in the future. However, he is dissatisfied with the fact that electoral regulations have not resolved the problem of voting rights for refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina. He mentioned Brcko, and said that the arbitration process would begin if the interested parties are unable to reach agreement, and added that no negotiations or talks in connection with Brcko have begun.

"The disputed issue has not been precisely and legally defined, because the region of Brcko is mentioned in the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Dayton agreement without its size being defined. There are many legal complexities, and the important thing for the Serb Republic is the fact that the Dayton agreement provides for a status quo if there is no agreement on Brcko. It would be a good thing to resolve this problem before the upcoming elections," Koljevic said.

B-H: Statement on Internal Party Elections in SDS

LD0405153096 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1329 GMT 4 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 4 May (SRNA)—The headquarters in charge of internal party elections in the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] believes that the accommodation of refugees and displaced persons in the [Bosnian] Serb Republic is progressing at a very slow pace, and that a special session of the Serb Republic government should be convened to resolve this issue.

A statement from the latest session of the headquarters, dispatched to SRNA today and signed by Radovan Karadzic, headquarters chairman and Serb Republic president, reads:

"1. Seeing that the process of providing accommodation for refugees and displaced persons in the Serb Republic is progressing at a very slow pace, we believe that a special government session should be convened as a matter of urgency to discuss in detail the implementation of the Law on the Use of Abandoned Property and to set clear deadlines and outline measures to speed up and resolve the implementation of the law.

"Providing accommodation for refugees and displaced persons and incorporating them in their new home municipalities is the most important state job in the Serb Republic at the moment, and will have a direct impact on the election result achieved by the SDS at the forthcoming elections.

"2. From the point of view of SDS success at the forthcoming elections, it is necessary that the Serb Republic government invest more efforts in relaunching production, creating jobs, and establishing a uniformed system of information in the Serb Republic, as well as in drawing up a comprehensive social program.

"3. The government of the Serb Republic must take measures to occupy the territories that under the Dayton agreement belong to the Serb Republic. To this end, it is essential to adopt a package of measures to encourage the population in the border areas of the Serb Republic to remain and live in these areas.

"A particular aspect of this problem is the security of the population in these areas, where the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Serb Republic must find a way of ensuring full security.

"4. Regardless of certain delays in meeting deadlines, it can be concluded that internal party elections at the level of local and municipal organizations are proceeding according to plan and with considerable success.

"The general conclusion is that internal party elections at the level of local and municipal organizations will be completed by mid-May (15 May 1996), and then preparations will begin for elections to the SDS assembly at the level of the Serb Republic.

"5. It has been noted that, during the holding of internal party elections in certain local and municipal organizations, there has been a failure to observe the statute and instructions for the holding of internal party elections with regard to secret ballots where several candidates are nominated, which damages the democratic nature of the electoral process.

"In light of this, all local and municipal organizations and officials responsible for conducting the elections are warned that they are obliged to adhere to the statute and instructions. Regional headquarters must monitor the legitimacy of the elections, verify the validity of the election of organizations in their area, and send a report on the implementation of internal party elections to the headquarters.

"6. The headquarters has also noted the lack of action by the regional headquarters in charge of elections in the area of the municipal organizations of Banja Luka, Celinac, Knezevo, Kotor Varos, Mrkonjic Grad, Sipovo, Kljuc, Laktasi, Prnjavor, Srbac, and Gradiska, and has decided to appoint from the ranks of the members of the headquarters another three persons to the regional headquarters in this area. Milos Milincic is appointed chairman, and Dragan [name indistinct] and Slavko Glamocic are named as members.

"7. In the case of those municipal organizations that carried out elections immediately prior to internal party elections according to the decision of the main committee or chairman of the party, verification will be carried out by the headquarters in charge of internal party elections in the SDS at one of its future sessions."

B-H: Doboj Socialists Continue Rally Despite Power Cuts

AU0405155896 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 May 96

[Report by Radovan Brankov from Doboj—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a packed Culture Hall the Socialists of Doboj proved that they can hold a really and speak frankly even in moments of darkness and power shortages. It is well-known that Doboj is the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

border municipality of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic where the combat lasted right up until the signing of the Dayton accord. In such difficult circumstances, the Socialists managed to organize their political work, Tihomir Gligoric, president of the municipal committee of the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic [SPRS] for Doboj, said to all present.

We are not afraid of facing people, deeply aware that the people's judgment will be the final one. We are proud to emphasize that more than 90 percent of the SPRS members took part in the imposed war, Tihomir Gligoric emphasized. The Socialists of Doboj re growing stronger and more numerous daily, and that is why we appeal to all honorable people, whom the current authorities have made impoverished and homeless, to join our party without hesitation.

Due to the media blockade in the public, there is not enough talk about the numerous shortcomings and mistakes of the current authorities.

In a desire to speak about it all, Major Stankovic, a legendary warrior of this region, who on 3 May 1992 liberated Doboj together with his units, addressed all present. Many today wish Doboj not to be Serbian, so there would be nobody to answer to, Maj. Stankovic said. Where are the numerous train cars that vanished from the Doboj railway station? Who looted the loaded cars? In whose pockets did the looted money go?, Maj. Stankovic asked and replied: All of us here know this well. At that moment, darkness fell in the hall. Somebody, as the organizers said, made sure to cut off the electricity supply and prevent the work of this conference. However, this did not happen. Maj. Stankovic proceeded with his speech in the darkness.

Borislav Bojic spoke before 15,000 young Socialists of the Serb Republic. We do not want clashes and war. Young people demand ways for a better and happier life. We are striving to accomplish full employment for the young people, pursuant to their skills.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Croatia: Tudjman Receives Letter From Russian President

LD0405104696 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 4 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Zoltan Kabok reporting from the presidential palace: Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman has received Igor Ivanov, first deputy foreign minister of the Russian Federation.

At the beginning of the talks Deputy Minister Ivanov handed President Tudjman a letter from Russian President Yeltsin, who considers Tudjman the most influential politician in the region. The president expressed his thanks for Yeltsin's letter and Russia's constructive role in resolving the conflict in our area.

Croatia is interested in continuing the development of comprehensive relations with Russia, which were also developed in the context of relations between the Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia, especially in economic cooperation and tourism.

Regarding the situation in the region, Croatia favors the normalization of relations between states which emerged after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, on the basis of mutual recognition, but in no way does Croatia support the creation of some new associations, President Tudjman said.

Croatia is also determined to see the peaceful reintegration of Podunavlje and the successful implementation of the Washington and Dayton peace agreements, and especially the revitalization of the federation, in which it expects support from Europe, the United States, and Russia, President Tudjman said. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Granic Discusses Reintegration With UN Administrator

LD0305160196 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Foreign Minister Mate Granic and General Jacques Klein, administrator of the UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Srijem [UNTAES] discussed the course of the reintegration of the Croatian Podunavlje, the demilitarization of the area, the opening of the Zagreb-Belgrade motorway, and relations between Croatia and Yugoslavia. Vera Tomasek reports:

[Begin recording] [Tomasek] We can view the process of peaceful reintegration with optimism because all conditions for it have been met, as Minister Granic pointed out.

[Granic] We can inform you that the Zagreb-Belgrade motorway will be opened on 7 May, that the mine clearance of the railway line is being carried out, and that this process will probably be finished in the next six weeks.

We are also working on all agreements signed in Zagreb between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia.

[Tomasek] The deputy foreign ministers of Croatia and Yugoslavia will meet in Zagreb on 13 May to agree on further steps in the normalization of relations.

[Granic] As for the reintegration of eastern Slavonia, Baranja and western Srijem, we discussed with Gen. Klein all moves that UNTAES will make together with the Republic of Croatia and, naturally, with the support of the United Nations.

Gen. Klein will meet all members of the [Croatian] government on Monday [6 May], as agreed yesterday at his meeting with President Tudjman.

[Tomasek] The opening of the Zagreb-Belgrade motorway will be a big step forward, Gen. Klein said. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Croatia: East Slavonia President Says Serb Exodus 'Ceased'

LD0505153096 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 5 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac, 5 May (TANJUG)—Goran Hadzic, president of the Serb region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem said in an interview with Radio Kragujevac today that the departure [of Serbs] from that region has "completely ceased."

Hadzic said the Serbs in that region have received guarantees from Jacques Klein [EU administrator], the EU, and the U.S. ambassadors accredited in Zagreb that they will be absolutely secure.

"They want Serbs to remain in these areas and the relations to normalize not only in this area but between FRY and Croatia as well," he said, adding that the minimum of the Serb people's interests in these areas must be protected.

"Our departure from the area would translate as a failure of the international community and that is why I am sure this mission will be successful. It is in our interests but also in the interests of the international community that we remain here," he said.

The reopening of the highway, planned for 7 May, Hadzic called "a window into the world," and added that he has asked the international sponsors for a reopening of the road to Hungary via Beli Manastir.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Croatia: Rumors on PRC Rockets, Iran Involvement Viewed

AU0505174696 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 3 May 96 p 8

[Article by Mario Galic: "Chinese Rockets for the Croatian Army?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The news about the alleged secret deal between Croatia and Iran on the delivery of the surface-to-surface rocket systems comes as no surprise, particularly because this deal was reportedly struck when the UN arms embargo was still in force against Croatia and there were no indications that it would be lifted. In such circumstances Croatia simply had to take advantage of any good opportunity to import arms, regardless of where they might have come from.

It is a greater surprise, as the U.S. papers claim, that Croatia purchased surface-to-surface medium-range rockets from Iran. The snag is that the Iranian military industry for the time being does not manufacture this type of arms and, thus, cannot export it. This would rather be a deal of Iran's reselling this type of arms already in its possession or purchasing the missiles from the third country as a fictitious buyer for Croatia's requirements (and, naturally, for its money) and then dispatching them to one of the Croatian harbors. Both cases would primarily involve purely a gesture of goodwill of one country assisting another and in doing so hoping to attain a certain political influence. This sort of policy is not unknown and both superpowers (the United States and the former USSR) have used it, dispatching vast quantities of arms to certain regimes under very favorable payment conditions. Other countries that wish to gain allies are also resorting to the same policy.

China and Russia

The bigger question is what could Iran deliver to the Croatian Army? Iran mostly purchases its arms from two countries—China and Russia. While Russia has lately demonstrated growing reluctance to sell arms to the Iranian regime (because of the problems with the Muslims within its borders) China is still willing to sell Tehran anything it may ask for. What is even better, it often does not even ask what will become of the arms once they are paid for. It is, therefore, very likely that Iran purchased Chinese surface-to-surface medium-range rockets for Croatia.

The choice is not exactly great. In light of Croatian Army requirements, we would most probably chose Chinese M-11 rockets. This rocket is 9.75 meters long and has the maximum range of 280 kilometers. Its accuracy is not impressive, as it can miss the target by as much as 600 meters upon landing. To counter this inaccuracy M-11 rockets are equipped with conventional warheads weighting 800 kilograms. Naturally, any M-11 can be equipped with nuclear warheads of Chinese manufacture. All rockets are mounted on a special transport, self-propelled vehicles which allow very good maneuverability and henceforth considerably reduce the chance of the firing position being detected and destroyed before launching the rocket.

We cannot rule out the possibility of the Croatian Army choosing a Chinese M-9 rocket with the maximum range of 600 km for its requirements, more as a strategic precaution and a deterrent of a possible attack from Serbia. The M-9 rocket is 10 meters long and carries a 500-kilogram warhead. Like the M-11, the M-9 is also launched from a special truck which allows for great maneuverability on the roads and elsewhere on the ground. It was the M-9 rockets that were used during the recent Chinese Army rocket maneuvers near Taiwan, and local television at the time showed extensive footage of the transport truck-launcher platforms with M-9 rockets. Apart from numerous frames of the rocket launching itself, there was also a frame in which we could clearly see how these same trucks without any great difficulty crossed a medium-sized river (about 1.5 meters deep). Better proof of good maneuverability can hardly be imagined.

Rockets to Belgrade

U.S. papers claim that the Washington Administration "stopped" this deal, which does not mean that the entire business of the rocket procurement has been interrupted. Increasingly better bilateral relations between Croatia and China as well as claims by Croatian generals that they are continuing to work on the purchase of the long-range rocket systems could mean only that Iran dropped out of the entire deal as the intermediary and that Croatia will purchase the necessary rockets directly from China. In such a case the Americans would find it a little more difficult "to stop" the realization of the deal. Of course, if they are willing to deliver the necessary rockets themselves, Croatia will happily purchase the rockets from them. Otherwise, it will purchase the rockets from those willing to sell.

The claim that the purchase of such rockets would threaten the peace in the region as Croatia acquires the possibility of carrying out rocket attacks on Belgrade does not stand and can only be uttered by somebody who is ignorant of the situation in this region.

The truth is that the Croatian Army has had rocket systems that can reach Belgrade as well as other towns

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

in Serbia for quite some time. Evidently the problem in the whole story was Iran, a country whose foreign policy greatly irks the United States. Here, any sort of meddling in policies of the European countries, even if they may be from the Balkans, is out of the question.

Croatia: Serb Police Chief Discusses Temporary Force

AU0605144196 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 3 May 96

[Interview with Mr. Djukic, head of the police of the Serb district of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem by Zeljko Trosic; place and date not given—from the "Vise od Vesti" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] The functioning of temporary police forces on the territory of our district is another topic of today's "Vise od Vesti" program. Those activities are performed on the basis of the Erdut Agreement. Our colleague Zeljko Trosic interviewed Mr. Djukic, head of the police [Sluzba javne bezbednosti] of the Serb district of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, about that. The first question was about the progress and results of the talks with Croatia. Here is what Mr. Djukic had to say about that:

[Djukic] The provisions of Resolution No. (?1037) of the Basic Agreement, Article 5, regarding the transitional or temporary police forces are fairly general and that is why each side has its own interpretation. Our position on the civilian component of the UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia [UNTAES] as well as on the Interior Ministry of the Republic of Croatia was clear-cut from day one. We understood the provisions of the resolution, the basic agreement, and the report by the UN secretary general, which is an annex to and a part of the resolution. Furthermore, during negotiations, we use all the achievements of scientific police [naucna policija] regarding the organization and methodology of work, and we do not deviate from our position. We have an unspoken gentleman's agreement not to disturb the public with controversial issues, both in Croatia and here, and we have stuck to that. However, I must say we have seven controversial issues on which we cannot agree. Those are: organizational structure and number of performers [izvrsilac], vehicles, uniforms, organization and method of work, code of behavior, and some other issues. All those problems were solved in keeping with our proposals, thanks to our determination, and not because we had the sympathies of the international community, but because we had valid facts and proposals.

I would like to add that the group of people that is taking part in establishing possible transitional or temporary police forces is very correct. Negotiation platforms and public appearances are a different matter. They made several public statements that were not true, and even went so far as to say that members of the Croatian Interior Ministry would perform their duty here, wearing their uniforms and insignia. That is absolutely not true, and there is no need to disturb the public in such a way. I think that we have achieved some results so far. We will see what happens next. I can only say that our activities were finally supported by the international community factors in charge of the future transitional police forces. That is all I have to say to this question.

[Trosic] Could you give us some more details about the purpose of educating and training police members in Hungary together with members of the Croatian Interior Ministry?

[Djukic] Let me explain about that, because that was a matter of some speculation. Some media said that both sides would send their personnel to the Budapest academy, which is actually a U.S. police academy for educating police of the newly formed countries. They said that there would be 150 personnel from each side and that they would make up the structure of the future police. That is not true at all. What is true is that about 300 police personnel will go through the training at a very professional level for about 11 working days, and that training can only be beneficial, not detrimental to our policemen. However, that is just one segment that is conceived to bring possible future colleagues closer together. I am only talking about what might be, I do not see it as a fait accompli. However, other police personnel, the Serb part of the police, will be educated at our police academy. We already have the curriculum. Our part of the police force, i.e., the Serb part, has very many well-trained members who are now—and we hope everything will go as planned—well-motivated toward carrying out their mission in this area and are aware of the difficulties of the transitional administration. Consequently, we are only talking about a small number of people. So far, 20 police members have been through the training. At present, we have 24 men there, and the next group will consist of 25 men. We went there and saw for ourselves that they are trained by a highly professional team. Let me say that we and the Croats were treated equally well there, that the program, the house rules, and all other documents were written in the fine Serb language, in the Cyrillic alphabet, using our terms, which shows that they are professionals who are, of course, paid to train our policemen.

[Trosic] Mr. Djukic, what are the goals and tasks of your police forces during the transitional period and the establishment of transitional political forces?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Djukic] Objectively speaking—though I never talk about politics and political solutions in the district—everyone knows that radical personnel changes were made in some municipalities as well as in the entire district. Naturally, there were speculations about personnel changes in the police, especially regarding its top officials. All those changes resulted, quite understandably, in two harmful things: a slackening of the pace and a feeling of uncertainty among our staff. In this period, we lost four very capable members. Some of them are still considering whether to continue working or not. I must say that I am pleased with the new district secretary, Mr. Milos Vojnovic, who is a man of knowledge, experience, good reputation, and authority. I believe he will do much to establish the police and transitional tasks.

Those of us who do our jobs at a very professional level want to point out and make clear that, as of tomorrow, we rounded off a process of educating our police forces and will have 312 police members whom we trained. Those are young people, very highly qualified, and even if they do not stay here, they will be very successful in other areas. I hope some of them will become chief police inspectors or police generals. That makes us very happy. We will do our best.

However, the role of the police must be defined. All police forces of the world—apart from the constitution and the law—follow the directions of politics, assembly, parliaments, and government sessions. Our governments were changing, we had no such guidelines. It is imperative that our assembly should analyze our annual report and make certain decisions, and that the government should implement those decisions. We will see what and how much we can do, and we will inform the public, timely and objectively, i.e., through the media.

I must say that we were in a very difficult situation, especially when belongings and property were being taken out of the district. Our authorities changed their positions on a daily basis, sometimes even several times a day, and we simply could not handle it. We were criticized if we prevented it and criticized if we let it happen. That was a big problem for us.

Furthermore, I do not want to talk about this a lot because I have repeated this at every meeting and in every interview: We must be objective and realize that we have three and a half security systems at work here. Once things settle down and the police force is the only security system, yet relying on other factors whose role we cannot disregard, I am positive that we will be able to do our job successfully and carry out our mission.

[Trosic] About negotiations, Mr. Djukic. Why does the Croatian side consider your negotiation team to be taking a hard line in the talks? Is, perhaps, one of the reasons the fact that all talks so far have so been held at border crossings?

[Djukic] The Croatian side proposed that we go to Osijek, i.e., Vukovar or Beli Manastir, rather than negotiate at UNTAES checkpoints. [sentence as heard] However, there is no special reason why we did not go.... [changes thought] The representatives of other committees went to Osijek, and Croatian representatives came to our side.

Regarding negotiations, let me say that one of the major flaws of the talks is that I do not know how far and what results were achieved by other structures. There should be a coordination committee to analyze that and let us know how far advanced are the talks. Also, there is also a subjective element in all that. People I am negotiating with used to be my superiors, but that is no reason.... [changes thought] They even thought we were afraid to go to Osijek. We will go to Osijek whenever President Hadzic gives us the order and when he says that is necessary. We cannot avoid incidents. Incidents can happen on our territory as well.

It is quite understandable that they said we were rigid during the talks because, especially in the segment.... [changes thought] Although we said we would not talk about problems, I have to say that the Croatian Interior Ministry, i.e., its leaders must bear in mind that these are temporary police forces, that most tasks will be carried out by the Serbs, and that the national composition of the police forces will reflect the changes in the population structure. Another thing they must realize is that they are now not in charge of the police personnel, especially when it comes to the leadership.

Croatia: Authorities Seal Offices of Independent Paper

AU0405140296 Paris AFP in English 1311 GMT 4 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, May 4 (AFP)—The independent weekly newspaper PANORAMA failed to appear on the streets this week after the Croatian authorities sealed their offices, preventing publication.

Ministry of Finance officials arrived to inspect the offices on Tuesday. According to a source close to PANORAMA, they asked to see a certificate showing that the bathrooms were not an ecological hazard.

"The police told us that we couldn't use these premises for business purposes without this certificate and threw us straight out into the street," the source told AFP.

The previous issue of PANORAMA had contained an article entitled "Tito back among the Croats", which

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

compared the former Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

Opposition politician Ivo Skrabalo described the reasons given for the move as "a pretext."

"I have to admit that the party in power has something of a sense of humour...but what do those in power in Croatia think about the ecological hazard posed by their way of thinking," Skrabalo, vice-president of the Croatian Social and Liberal Party (HSLS), told AFP.

The PANORAMA offices, located in central Zagreb, were still sealed on Saturday. Taped to the door was a notice from the Ministry of Finance warning that all those who tried to enter risked a fine or imprisonment for up to one year.

Tudjman recently attacked the independent press in Croatia, describing them as a "threat from within."

In March, the Croatian parliament adopted a press law against libel and insults against the senior state figures. The law has been criticised by the Croatian Association of Journalists, which said it would lead to self-censorship.

Croatia: Police Raid Newsroom of Split Weekly

LD0405225796 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1949 GMT 4 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, May 4 (TANJUG)—Croatian police have raided the newsroom of the Split weekly FERAL TRIBUNE and interrogated its editor over an article criticising President Tudjman for planning to rebury the bones of World War II fascists near their victims.

About 700,000 Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and Croatian anti-fascists were brutally killed in the Jasenovac death camp, set up in World War II by the Nazi puppet independent state of Croatia and run by Croatian fascists, Ustasha.

In a fax sent to all western news agencies, FERAL's editorial staff said Croatian authorities had objected to an article published in the weekly's latest issue that criticised Tudjman's plan to rebury the bones of Ustasha at the Jasenovac memorial site alongside their victims, Reuters reported from Zagreb on Saturday.

The weekly's editor Viktor Ivancic said he had refused to answer any questions by his investigators who he said had explained that they were applying the new libel law under which the state prosecutor was writing an indictment based on the person who had suffered the damage.

Reuters quoted Ivancic as saying, "At the moment we are working normally on our next issue. But anything is possible. I wouldn't be surprised if they banned our paper. Interrogations of journalists are not something that is done in a democracy."

Reuters' attempt to find out about the incident from the police failed, although a Croatian Government official referred questions to police and the courts.

The Rijeka daily NOVI LIST said Saturday Tudjman had taken exception to the text and illustrations in FERAL's article that included the headlines "Bones in the Blender" and "Jasenovac—Biggest Underground City in Croatia."

FERAL TRIBUNE, which is one of the few Croatian papers that criticise the current Croatian regimegn briefly ceased publishing in 1994 when the state requested that it pay high taxes that are demanded for pornographic publications. The weekly appealed to the courts which rescinded the tax.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

FYROM: Accord Reached To Resume Belgrade-Skopje Flights

AU2904142296 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Apr 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Zoran Vujovic, federal minister of transportation and communication, and his aides are visiting Skopje today. Minister Vujovic held talks with the representatives of the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] Ministry of Transportation and Communications, led by Dimitar Buzlevski, on the full normalization of air, rail, and road traffic between Yugoslavia and Macedonia.

At the beginning of his visit, Minister Zoran Vujovic was also received by Macedonian Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski. It has been agreed that air traffic between Belgrade and Skopje will resume on 16 May. [passage omitted]

FYROM: Mladic Allegedly Faces Lawsuit Over Unpaid Debt

AU0305133896 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 May 96 p 20

[Report by D.N.: "Ratko Mladic in a Skopje Court?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje—The public company for housing and business premises in Skopje recently threatened to sue at least 50 percent of the citizens for not paying the debts they owe for using state-owned land. General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Serb Republic Army, is among those facing lawsuits; his debt amounts to 249.50 denars (9 German marks). If Ratko Mladic fails to pay the amount within 15 days, he will have to appear before the Skopje court.

Macedonian [Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] sources published this piece of news in the column ["spec"] reserved for items that make people laugh, but a question also emerged that is far from funny: Is Ratko Mladic still in possession of an apartment in Jane Sandanski Street in Skopje?

FYROM: Ethnic Divisions Threaten Macedonian-Yugoslav Agreement

LD0405201096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1931 GMT 4 May 96

[By Mladen Stancic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, May 4 (TANJUG)—In the multi-ethnic Balkan coloration, Macedonia [FYROM—Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], which seceded peacefully from the former Yugoslavia in 1991, stands out as an oasis of peace and inter-ethnic tolerance, with a state and political course desirable to the powerful West.

Late in April, however, parliament members clashed in a heated dispute preceding the verification of the accord normalizing relations between Macedonia and Yugoslavia, in which emerged unmasked the true views of ethnic Albanians on the political and state milieu of the Balkans.

The accord was signed in Belgrade early in April between Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic and his Macedonian counterpart Ljubomir Frckoski.

Ethnic Albanian deputies opposed the normalization of relations arguing that in the signing the document, the two ministers were led only by Serbo-Macedonian interests.

Serbia's southern Province Kosovo and Metohija, which is inhabited by an ethnic Albanian majority, was thus left at the mercy of the Serbian regime, said the deputies.

On the other hand, the Macedonian deputies hailed the normalization of relations with Yugoslavia as vital for the peace, stability and prosperity of Macedonia and the entire region.

They said Yugoslavia had been the only one among Macedonia's neighbors to recognize the state under its constitutional name, its language and nation.

There is fear of fresh ethnic divisions in parliament, with the semi-illegal para-university operating with the tacit approval of the authorities in the town of Tetovo and amid pressures for its legalization, although it is unconstitutional.

Student registration and all documents in ethnic Albanian primary and secondary schools have since 1990 been recorded only in Albanian, disregarding the official Macedonian language.

Ethnic division, educational self-isolation and the ghettoization of ethnic Albanians in Macedonia develops from kindergarten to university under the guise of democratic rights and human freedoms.

The ethnic Albanian deputies said that recording school documents in Macedonian would be problematic, unacceptable and dangerous.

As Deputy Hisni Shaciri said, ethnic Albanians 'are an essential factor to Macedonia's stability,' adding that 'carelessness or inattention could cost you dearly.'

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Poland: Cabinet Approves Main Foreign Policy Principles

WS0605113396 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4-5 May 96 p 2

[Article by Ma.S.: "The Foreign Minister Will Make a Speech in the Sejm; The Government Has Approved the Main Principles of Foreign Policy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *On 30 April, the Council of Ministers approved the main principles of Poland's 1996 foreign policy, presented by Foreign Affairs Minister Dariusz Rosati. The ministers authorized the head of the Polish diplomatic services to submit this document in the Sejm after considering the conclusions that resulted from the discussion. The minister is to do this at the next sitting of the Sejm.*

Also participating in the session of the government was President Aleksander Kwasniewski. The president assessed that measures are being taken to accomplish the primary goals of Polish foreign policy, such as the desire to integrate with the West European structures.

According to Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Andrzej Towpik, there were no major controversies over the main principles of Polish foreign policy among the 14 ministers who took part in the Tuesday meeting. They only made remarks as to how the document should take into account the issues the individual ministries are responsible for.

The document, drawn up by the Foreign Affairs Ministry, states, among other things, that, "since the beginning of this year, Poland has been very actively pursuing its foreign policy." As one of the arguments that confirm this opinion, the authors of the document mention the fact that the president has met with 11 heads of state and many other politicians. The prime minister has held seven meetings with heads of government, whereas the foreign affairs minister has held over a dozen official talks with heads of the diplomatic services of other countries.

Poland: Kwasniewski Denies GS Chief To Be Replaced

WS0605115496 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 6 May 96 p 2

[Report by "PAP/WER": "Polish President: There Will Be No Changes at the General Staff; the Armed Forces Need Peace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *President Aleksander Kwasniewski has denied reports that the chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces is to be replaced.*

"I do not foresee any changes over the next few weeks or months, but no one is irreplaceable. You have to take into account that certain activities come to a close," added the president.

The president said that the Polish Armed Forces need peace and stability and that there will be "no squabbling, which applies also to personnel issues." Asked to comment on statements made by Danuta Waniek, the head of the Presidential Chancellery, and Jerzy Milewski, chief of the National Security Office, in which they criticized Chief of General Staff General Tadeusz Wilecki, the president replied: "I can assure you that, at least for the next few months, the Presidential Chancellery officers will not make any personal comments because I have firmly reprimanded them. The president is responsible for staffing policies within the presidential office."

Poland: Kwasniewski Names 10 Generals, Awards One White Eagle

LD0305183496 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1203 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 3 May (PAP)—Aleksander Kwasniewski, president and Armed Forces' head, today handed appointment papers to 10 generals and expressed the hope that the generals will avoid temptations flowing from the world of politics—temptations to get unnecessarily involved in politics.

On the occasion of the national holiday, the 205th anniversary of the adoption of the 3 May Constitution, the president handed out 10 appointments to the rank of general in the presence of the speakers of the Sejm and the Senate, the ministers of national defense and internal affairs, and the chief of General Staff of the Polish Army. The 10 included one policeman and the Orthodox Military Ordinary, Archbishop Sawa.

Kwasniewski also presented the highest Polish order, the White Eagle, to 94-year-old Lieutenant General Franciszek Kaminski, former commander in chief of the peasant battalions, peasant activist and deputy, prisoner during the Stalinist period, and current honorary chairman of the Polish Peasant Party (the junior coalition party). [passage omitted]

The generals appointed on 3 May are:

—Zbigniew Zalewski, head of the logistics inspectorate, deputy head of the General Staff (SG) of the Polish Army (WP), appointed to the rank of general [general broni] (he is the third general of this rank in active service—the other two are Chief of General Staff(CGS) Tadeusz Wilecki and First Deputy CGS Edmund Bolociuch).

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

—Jaroslaw Bielecki, head of organizational-mobilization planning of the armed forces of the SG of the WP, was appointed lieutenant general [general diwizji].

Appointed to major general [general brygady] were:

—Archbishop Sawa, Michal Hrycuniak, Orthodox Spiritual Ordinary.

—Kazimierz Madej, director of the department of social relations at the ministry of national defense.

—Piotr Makarewicz, commander of the 16th Mechanized Division.

—Wlodzimierz Michalski, commander of the 25th Airborne Cavalry Division.

—Bronislaw Pelkert, commander of the radio-technical officers' college.

—Stanislaw Stanko, head of the XIV materials administration of the SG of the WP.

—Rear Admiral Zbigniew Badenski, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Navy, responsible for operational matters.

—Janusz Pluta, Lodz provincial police commander, who has been appointed chief police superintendent.

As of today, there are more than 120 generals in the Polish Army, which has one of the lowest ratios of generals to soldiers. There are about 400 posts for generals in the Polish Armed Forces. In the last round of appointments made by former president Lech Walesa on 11 November 1995, 12 officers of the Polish Army, all from the military part of the Ministry of National Defense, were promoted.

Poland: Conflicts, Moves at Secret Services Viewed

WS0205133196 Poznan WPROST in Polish 5 May 96 pp 19-22

[Article by Miroslaw Cielemiecki: "Perestroyka in the Secret Services; Purge?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In May 1996, Poland might lose its sight and hearing, it could become vulnerable to foreign intelligence services. Why? Why is Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz personally allowing a temporary weakening of the Polish secret services? Why is the possibility of dismissing officers who worked on the so-called Oleksy case being considered, thus leading to the enfeeblement of the Office of State Protection [UOP]? Why is Lucyna Pietrzyk, the chairwoman of the special [secret services] Sejm commission, being tantalized with the position of deputy interior minister? Why are concepts of revealing the operations of Polish intelligence services appearing? Why has the chief of the Military Information Services [WSI] recently been replaced without the necessary consultations?

UOP still does not have a permanent head, and it remains unknown who will run it. Controversies between Leszek Miller, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, and Interior Minister Zbigniew Siemiatkowski over the role and positioning of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] provoked further chaos.

There is a prevalent air of temporariness at UOP that is nearly paralyzing the operations of the services.

General Henryk Jasik, General Gromoslaw Czempinski, and Colonel Konstanty Miodowicz no longer work with the MSW. Deputy Interior Minister Jerzy Zimowski, the last representative of the pre-1989 opposition among the ministerial leadership, is expected to leave the MSW any day. Generals Wiktor Fonfara and Bogdan Libera, currently in charge of the key UOP directorates, will almost definitely follow suit shortly. Unofficial sources claim that, once the officers who were in charge of the so-called Oleksy case are ousted, further dismissals will follow on lower levels—for example, in the regional chapters. "The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] is not even trying to hide any more that it is trying to control major state organs, including the secret services," says Deputy Andrzej Potocki of the Freedom Union [UW]. Until recently, it seemed that at least the Armed Forces and the WSI were politically unattached. The governing coalition, however, decided to take the whole lot.

Unofficial sources claim that regular meetings between high-ranking officers fixed around Commander Kazimierz Glowacki have been taking place for several months now. The venues include the casino of the Warsaw Military District at the Citadel and the offices of several SLD politicians. Among the participants were three heads of counterintelligence divisions and a high-ranking officer from the cabinet of former Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk. When current Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski dismissed WSI Chief Konstanty Malejczyk on 26 March, he probably either did not know of or chose to ignore the covert activity of the officers.

The most recent conflict concerning the WSI evolved back in the times when Piotr Kolodziejczyk was defense minister. He ceded part of his powers—mainly the exercise of command—to the chief of General Staff. As a result, the secret services were subordinated to the General Staff. A small bureau for supervising the WSI was formed, headed by General Boleslaw Izydorczyk. A conflict soon flared up, however, between Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk and Chief of General Staff General Tadeusz Wilecki. The minister realized he lost real power over intelligence and counterintelligence. He thus

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

issued instructions that part of the counterintelligence services, a unit in charge of operations and the financial control department, be subordinated to his ministry. As a result, secret services were formed within the military. Both groups began competing for control over the Armed Forces.

Konstanty Malejczyk, WSI chief at the time, described the situation in a report submitted to President Walesa and the head of the National Security Office. At a session of the National Defense Committee [KOK] that was called shortly thereafter, it was decided that the previous model of WSI be reinstated. Soon afterwards, there was a clash between Minister Kolodziejczyk, Deputy Minister Milewski, and Malejczyk. It is unofficially reported that Malejczyk, viewed at MON as Wilecki's henchman, heard that, regardless of KOK's opinion, the services he headed would soon be thwarted. Ever since, the WSI has been run by two independent centers—one formal, the other informal.

The General Staff commanded the WSI via Konstanty Malejczyk. Direct contacts with MON, on the other hand, were guaranteed by Cdr. Glowacki, the current WSI chief. The war at the top was now waged at lower levels. Antagonistic factions supporting the General Staff and the MSW began to form within the intelligence and counterintelligence services. Malejczyk knew nothing of Glowacki's contacts with Kolodziejczyk and Milewski.

UOP is also said to be divided into rookies and old timers. The former seek primarily the support of [Interior] Minister Siemiatkowski. The role played by Colonel Anklewicz, former Prime Minister Oleksy's right-hand man, remains unknown. Rumor has it that acting UOP Chief Col. Kapkowski is exerting pressure on officers who are witnesses in the so-called Oleksy case. The rifts and conflicts of interest do not foment the efficiency of secret service operations.

The dichotomy in managing the military secret services has led to a number of scandals. During exercises in Drawsko, military counterintelligence intercepted a confidential conversation between Gen. Wilecki and Gen. Czempinski, UOP chief at the time, that they held via a radio connection. They spoke about selling BWP-2 armored vehicles abroad. A tape recording of the conversation was passed on to Glowacki, chief of counterintelligence at the time. In line with military procedures, the WSI chief, Malejczyk, should have been the first to be informed. Glowacki, however, submitted the recording directly to Kolodziejczyk, who, as it later turned out, began collecting material incriminating Wilecki.

Cdr. Glowacki surrounded himself with several eminent counterintelligence officers. A high-ranking officer from the minister's cabinet acted as a middleman between the group and some of the top MON authorities of the time. Meetings were usually held in a separate part of the officers club at the headquarters of the Warsaw Military District. Some lasted late into the night and ended in a very relaxed atmosphere. Participants had to be chauffeured home. It was unofficially reported that, after one such meeting, there was an incident at Cdr. Glowacki's home—the police intervened, then the military police took over. The whole case was hushed up.

Having learned about the informal meetings held by his subordinates, Malejczyk summoned Glowacki and demanded an explanation. Glowacki replied that he simply wanted to strengthen contacts with some of his subordinates. Further humiliating events soon followed, among them celebrations at the U.S. ambassador's residence. The chief of General Staff established a commission headed by General Franciszek Puchala, which confirmed charges leveled against the chief of counterintelligence. An official report landed on the General Staff chief's desk. It was decided that Glowacki would be moved to another position. Another commission later tried to clear the commander of the charges.

Glowacki's dismissal, however, did not put an end to the informal meetings of the WSI officers. Former Defense Ministers Danuta Waniek and Jerzy Milewski, current Deputy Defense Minister Andrzej Karkoszka and Jerzy Szmajdzinski, chairman of the Sejm National Defense Commission, must have been aware of what was going on. MON was then headed by Zbigniew Okonski, generally considered to be Lech Walesa's henchman. A politician who asked to remain anonymous claims that Cdr. Glowacki's group regularly submitted reports on morale within the Armed Forces to Aleksander Kwasniewski's campaign staff.

Having won the elections, the coalition thus had solid footing to take over the so-called presidential ministries. Jerzy Konieczny, closely affiliated with President Kwasniewski and Jozef Oleksy, was appointed interior minister. Col. Anklewicz, previously head of Oleksy's cabinet and considered to be a commissar delegated to the MSW by the SLD, had been working for the ministry for a couple of days already.

The surefire candidate for defense minister was Jerzy Milewski. It turned out, however, that the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] coveted the office for one of its own. The PSL's stubbornness nearly caused the coalition to fall apart. Stanislaw Dobrzanski, a less-known PSL

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

politician whom some of the generals approved, was given the job by way of compromise.

The majority of SLD leaders did not come to terms with losing formal control over the Armed Forces and the military intelligence services. "They treated Dobrzanski as a necessary evil from the very start," says a coalition politician who asked to remain anonymous. Dobrzanski himself began repeating that he did not intend to be a figurehead. To gain credibility in the eyes of the SLD, he made several radical cuts at the General Staff.

In the meantime, UOP chief Gen. Czempinski stepped down. Col. Miodowicz, chief of the UOP Counterintelligence Directorate, did the same earlier. In February 1996, Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski attempted to appoint Colonel Roman Januchta, considered to be former Prime Minister Pawlak's henchman, as chief of military counterintelligence. He was previously head of the cabinet of General Bula, currently on trial for illegally destroying files. The minister began assigning the WSI with tasks exceeding their authority. He demanded, for example, reports on morale in the Armed Forces after making some controversial moves. He also issued instructions to track down the instigators of press reports in which he was criticized, some of them carried by WPROST. Gen. Malejczyk protested these instructions. He did not agree to Januchta's appointment. This marked the end of his career. The ascent of Cdr. Glowacki and his group followed. The minister agreed to his appointment to chief of the WSI under pressure from the Presidential Chancellery, notably from Danuta Waniek.

"Dobrzanski has one more task to fulfill—to dism Gen. Wilecki or eliminate him from political life. He will then go himself," says an unofficial source at MON. Andrzej Karkoszka and Jerzy Milewski are mentioned as possible candidates for defense minister. Karkoszka's chances are better, inasmuch as the majority of generals do not approve of Milewski. The big favorite for the post, however, is Jerzy Szmajdzinski, one of the leaders of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic. Our sources claim that Kazimierz Glowacki has been assigned the task of preparing the ground for these changes.

Shortly after Cdr. Glowacki took over, the WSI began preparing for a purge. Formerly dismissed officers are returning, among them participants of the sub rosa gatherings organized by Glowacki. It is openly acknowledged that officers considered to be supportive of Gen. Wilecki are being ousted from the WSI. Confidential negotiations with generals who could replace Wilecki and his bunch are probably already under way.

Danuta Waniek is not hiding the fact that she will do everything possible to carry out the changes. General J. is mentioned as a candidate for chief of General Staff.

At the same time, an inspection of WSI operations carried out durng the period 1995-96 has been launched. It is supervised by the aforesaid Col. Jasuchta, who is no longer an officer in the secret services. The prerogatives of the commission are huge. It has access to all classified materials on intelligence and counterintelligence operations. "The WSI should be kept out of internal politics. It would be an outrage if the governing coalition used them for its purposes," says former Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

UOP will face the same threat once it is subordinated directly to the prime minister. Senator Krzysztof Kozlowski fears that not the head of the cabinet but, rather, a lower ranking trusted officer will decide about the identity of the secret services. The possibilities of using them for political purposes will be all the greater.

"It is currently impossible to defy suspicions that the indispensable reform of UOP that is currently being carried out provides an opportunity to subordinate the service to one political camp," adds Deputy Andrzej Potocki of UW. "The SLD is reaching for absolute power within the state," says Jacek Merkel, a member of the Political Advisory Committee to the Interior Minister. Considering the fact that the most experienced officers will leave UOP, Poland might soon become a territory of infiltration that our secret services can only watch. Factions and cliques are forming within UOP. The operations of the WSI are still not provided for by any law, which makes drawing these services into politics even easier.

• • •

UOP

Acting UOP Chief: Col. Andrzej Kapkowski

Deputy UOP Chief: Dr. Jerzy Nozka

Deputy UOP Chief: Col. Zdzislaw Skorza

Chief of the Intelligence Directorate: Col. Bogdan Libera

Chief of the Counterintelligence Directorate: Gen. Wiktor Fonfara

Chief of the Analyses and Information Bureau: Captain Adam Aduszkiewicz

Finance Bureau

Personnel Bureau

Coding Bureau

Technical Bureau

Observation Bureau

Administrative Bureau

Files and Archives Bureau

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Romania: Solana, Melescanu Make Statements on NATO Expansion

AU0305122696 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 3 May 96

[Statements by NATO Secretary General Javier Solana and Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu in Bucharest on 3 May—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Solana in English with superimposed translation into Romanian] I used this opportunity to talk to the foreign minister about the situation in our bilateral relations. I would like to point out that the individualized dialogue with your country, which was initiated last week, is progressing well and that we are very satisfied with the way in which your country participates in the Partnership for Peace and cooperates within the IFOR [Implemenation Force] in Bosnia.

As I have already said, we are delighted with NATO's bilateral relations with Romania.

[Announcer] Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu told the press that Javier Solana had shared his stance, according to which, as long as the evaluation process is still in progress, no preference can be expressed regarding the countries with which the expansion process should be commenced. In that context, Mr. Melescanu also said:

[Melescanu] I assess our talks today, as well as the general position displayed by the NATO Secretariat, as a very balanced one and in accordance with what we know. We consider it extremely negative that some perceive the expansion of the alliance as a kind of race, as a contest, in which the parties' concern is who gets to be the first or the second. We quite clearly expressed the view that, in our opinion, NATO expansion is a process that has to bring more security and stability to our region, rather than create new elements of insecurity. But the competitive approach, which concentrates on establishing who is to be first and who second, actually generates elements of insecurity. I explained this very clearly, and Secretary General Solana shared that view.

[Announcer] Romania's and NATO's points of view are practically identical, Oliviu Gherman, the president of the Romanian Senate, stated a few minutes ago following his talks with NATO Secretary General Javier Solana. Mr. Gherman also pointed out that, in the opinion of the NATO official, one cannot talk, in any way, about preferential candidacies for NATO membership, and the case of each candidate country is to be examined by the alliance on the basis of its own performance criteria.

During the brief 20-minute talks, the Senate president reiterated to the NATO secretary general Romania's firm determination to join the Euro-Atlantic bodies. At the same time, Gherman rejected the idea of step-by-step NATO expansion, after which he pointed out that Romania's admittance would involve the lowest costs, relatively, for NATO, our correspondent Dan Preda reports.

Romania: Iliescu, Vacaroiu Receive NATO's Solana

AU0305134596 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Romania's president received NATO Secretary General Javier Solana in Bucharest today. Our correspondent Crisitan Nita reports that the meeting was attended by, among others, Adrian Nastase, president of the Chamber of Deputies; Teodor Melescanu, minister of state and minister of foreign affairs; and Gheorghe Tinca, minister of national defense.

The NATO secretary general was also received by Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu at Victoria Palace today. In a communique received by fax, the government's spokesman points out that, during the meeting, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu emphasized Romania's firm choice to continue and speed up the Euro-Atlantic integration process, which is a basic objective of our country's foreign policy.

In his turn, the NATO secretary general praised Romania's participation in the Partnership for Peace [PFP] and stressed that the expansion of the Atlantic alliance should not be perceived by anyone as a threat but, rather, as an essential contribution to consolidating peace and stability in the region, the communique received from the government spokesman reads.

Romania: Melescanu, NATO's Solana Sum Up Results of Visit

AU0305203396 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 3 May 96

[Article by Doina Saiciuc on statements by Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu and NATO Secretary General Javier Solana at Bucharest's Otopeni Airport at the end of the latter's visit to Bucharest on 3 May—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The visit to Bucharest by Javier Solana is already part of the Romania-NATO individualized dialogue that started in Brussels at the end of last week. This probably is the first formal reason for the visit to Bucharest by Javier Solana, who, according to statements made by Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu at Otopeni Airport before the NATO secretary general's departure, conveyed a few messages on this occasion. These messages refer to the alliance's positive

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

assessments about Romania's very dynamic participation in the Partnership for Peace [PFP]—we recall that our country was the first to sign the PFP—the Romanian contributions to peacekeeping actions in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Bucharest's very firm commitment to NATO's expansion. Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu also referred to other important messages conveyed by the NATO secretary general during his visit to Bucharest.

[Melescanu] The second message, in my opinion, was the very clear affirmation that NATO's expansion will be further conceived as part of a gradual process, which is going be implemented in total transparence. Regarding its duration, this process can be defined as follows: We are now entering the stage of the individualized dialogue, after which, probably at the end of the year, sometime in December, a decision will be made on the ways and means to achieve NATO's expansion; this effort will spill over into the next year, too. Generally speaking, I would like to tell you that both in his talks with me, personally, and with all of the other officials he met in Bucharest—Mr. President Ion Iliescu, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, Senate Speaker Mr. Oliviu Gherman, Mr. Adrian Nastase, president of the Chamber of Deputies, and other Romanian parliament members—Mr. Secretary General Solana had positive things to say about Romania's activity and also urged us to persevere in our efforts. He stressed the importance of these endeavors in the strictly military sphere as well as the need to continue the democratic processes in our country; to increase Romania's contribution as a factor of stability in the region; and to develop the overall policy of good-neighborliness. He emphasized that all of these things make up the criteria that will be used in the process of NATO's decisionmaking about our country.

[Saiciuc] NATO Secretary General Javier Solana estimated that the document of the Romania-NATO individualized dialogue is very good and that he hopes this dialogue will continue in a positive way. In the final meeting with the press at Otopeni Airport, NATO Secretary General Javier Solana said:

[Solana in English fading to Romanian translation] This is my first visit here as NATO secretary general. First of all, I would like to thank the government and the Romanians for their cooperation in the efforts to bring peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina. For us, for NATO, this is the most important mission right now. Therefore, we are grateful to the countries lending a helping hand in this respect because this is a very important mission for us.

A second thing I want to emphasize is that I found a very broad consensus in your country on Romania's desire to participate in the European and Euro-Atlantic structures. You can imagine that, in my capacity as NATO secretary general, I am very pleased to hear that there is such a consensus on the issue of NATO integration in such an important country as yours.

A second message I would like to convey to you is that we are very pleased with the way in which Romania participates in the PFP. I recall that Romania was the first country to sign the PFP and that it has used the PFP in a very positive manner in the time that has elapsed since then. I want to congratulate Romania's Government for that. I had the opportunity of discussing with your country's leadership—with Romania's president, with the ministers of foreign affairs and defense, and with the presidents and members of Parliament—and I can tell you that I am leaving Romania in a very happy mood. I hope that the individualized dialogue between NATO and your country will continue in a positive manner. Once again, thank you very much, Mr. Foreign Minister, for your cooperation. I want to stress that I leave your country with a better knowledge of its circumstances than I had at the beginning, and in a positive spirit.

Romania: Ex-King Mihai: NATO Membership Very Important

AU0105184596 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 1 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In an exclusive interview granted to one of our reporters, Mihai of Hohenzollern, former ruler of Romania, declared that Romania's place in Europe remains the same as it used to be, and, even if currently things are more complicated due to the consequences of World War II, the rest of Europe should understand Romania's position on this continent.

Asked what he thinks about Romania's joining NATO, the former king replied that it is very important to be admitted to NATO and that the Romanians have to ponder well the way in which the country's joining NATO will take place, considering especially that our future is connected to that organization.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Slovenia: Radio: Clinton Supports Nation's EU Membership

AU0405161996 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 4 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Let us begin our newscast with the letter that Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek received from U.S. President Bill Clinton:

The U.S. President in the letter voices Washington's support for Slovenia's membership in the international integrations and the European Union. Clinton hailed a recent Slovene parliament decision on the purchase of real estate in our country and assessed that it would have a beneficial effect on resolving the dispute between Rome and Ljubljana.

President Clinton singled Slovenia out as an example to the emerging democracies and wished our country much success in the future.

Slovenia: UK's Major Promises To Help Country Join EU

AU0505144096 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 5 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] British Prime Minister John Major in a letter today to Slovene Prime Minister Dr. Drnovsek writes that Slovenia is a serious candidate for membership in the European Union. He also promises assistance in our country's joining the Union.

Like U.S. President Clinton a few days ago, Major hails the State Chamber conclusions regarding the purchase of real estate as well as the government's intention to change ownership legislation. The British prime minister in the letter also briefs Dr. Drnovsek about the last debate of the council of EU foreign ministers on Slovenia.

Slovenia: Thaler on EU, Dispute With Italy, New Italian Government

BR0605122996 Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 6 May 96 p 6

[Interview with Slovenian Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler by Roberto Morelli in Ljubljana; date not given: "Ljubljana: Peace With Rome"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ljubljana—[Passage omitted] *In this interview with CORRIERE DELLA SERA, Minister Thaler explained Slovenia's new line.*

[Morelli] What is your opinion of the election results in Italy? Prodi said that Italian-Slovenian relations are the most important of the unresolved issues.

[Thaler] Your elections were followed with enormous interest by the Slovenes, and we welcomed the results. Prodi's statement pleased us greatly.

[Morelli] What do you expect from the new Italian Government?

[Thaler] We are not merely adopting an expectant stance but are the first to offer ourselves as good allies. This three-year dispute has caused us to miss many opportunities.

[Morelli] The Slovene parliament accepted EU mediation regarding the real estate market but then passed a recommendation for the government not to extend the derestriction to foreigners in a 10-km band along the border. Is there not an inconsistency here?

[Thaler] No, because the important decision is the former, whereby the government is authorized to sign the treaty of association on the basis of that mediation. When parliament ratifies the document—and this will happen soon because there is a clear majority—this will become law. Indeed, even something more than a law. All the rest, including that recommendation, is much less important and is part of parliamentary debate and color.

[Morelli] Nevertheless, Slovenia has often given the impression of being reluctant to adapt to European standards.

[Thaler] Parliament's decision is clear: We have crossed the Rubicon. If we want to become EU members, we must harmonize our legislation. It is an irreversible process, and parliament sees it this way, too.

[Morelli] What are you proposing to Italy?

[Thaler] Let us find a solution to a senseless dispute. We have done our part. Exiles will have the opportunity to enter the real estate market before other Europeans, and this is very important. As for the restoration of assets, I hope it will be possible to reach some kind of humanitarian gesture on both sides: Slovenes in Italy also suffered greatly under Mussolini. We can meet each other halfway with an agreement that will not alter existing treaties. A meeting between Prodi and our prime minister, Drnovsek, as soon as possible could settle everything.

[Morelli] What if Italy remains unbending?

[Thaler] In that case, the issue should be made the subject of an international conference. But I do not think this will happen. We must, rather, cooperate closely. In Slovenia there is a large German, Austrian, and French presence: We want to counterbalance this with Italy, to have more of your banks and businesses here. We even

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

lack an Italian cultural center. Italy would be a factor of stability in Slovenia. We could establish a kind of joint venture between the two countries, jointly penetrate the markets of the East, which we know well.

[Morelli] What do you have to say to Italian refugees who are demanding the return of their homes?

[Thaler] That a Slovenia in Europe is in their interest, too.

Slovenia: PM Drnovsek Discusses EU, Next Elections

AU0605115296 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 26 Apr 96 pp 35-36

[Interview with Janez Drnovsek, Slovene prime minister and leader of the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia, by Janko Lorenci on 23 April; place not given: "If I Would Give In to All of the Pressures, You Would Be Able To Literally Buy the Elections"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Lorenci] It seems that we are finally moving on the issue to coming closer to the EU.

[Drnovsek] That is true. I believe that we have achieved a serious breakthrough, and there are real possibilities that we will sign the association agreement in the near future. The decisions made by the parliament, in which our government was engaged to a great extent, have had a very positive response from the countries of the EU—from all the countries. It seems to me that they are now (we spoke to the prime minister on Tuesday morning—editor's note) making up their mind [tehtati] as to whether they should seek verification regarding Slovenia in the old parliament, or whether they should go ahead with the new one. Whatever the case, the expectation of more or less all EU member states is now clear and concise, and is turning into the opinion that Slovenia has done what it could have done, and that it is now Italy's turn to make a move. I can hardly imagine that Italy could find a kind of different way out, since it would otherwise risk its credibility in the EU.

[Lorenci] What about the law on ownership and property rights? Is it part of the package that the EU is giving as a condition for the signing of the association agreement?

[Drnovsek] Our parliament accepted the direction of loosening the legislation, including regarding real estate, and the harmonization of our legislature with the European legislation itself. A part of this is also supposed to be integrated into this law in the coming period.

[Lorenci] Are the conditions specific and are there deadlines?

[Drnovsek] Such are the expectations regarding the amendment of the Constitution. Slovenia is therefore to alter its Constitution at the time of ratification, and at the same time it is to change its legislation regarding real estate. The Spanish compromise foresees that Slovenia will have completed this in the four years after ratification of this agreement.

[Lorenci] We are therefore not under time pressure, and it is up to others to make their move, not us.

[Drnovsek] That is so. The moves will follow in an alternate manner. That was also the intention of the discussion in parliament. Even I tried to clearly emphasize the fact that the issue involves a key political decision; with the fact that the government receives authorization to sign the association agreement and that it gives the appropriate guarantees to the EU. With this we would cross the obstacle that has been hindering us till now. It is now the turn of the EU and Italy to make their move. The latter has been blocking the association agreement all this time, although it has tried to conceal the fact.

[Lorenci] The statements of Romano Prodi, who will obviously be the next Italian prime minister are, as mentioned, encouraging for us. There is, however, no use getting one's hopes high. Italy can still introduce various reservations in later proceedings.

[Drnovsek] It is a process, and that is what we have tried to explain to parliament. And the Spanish compromise suggestion was a point in this process that needed to be passed in order for Slovenia to enter a new phase. Ratification usually takes one to two years. However, the negotiations regarding full membership will also begin. Slovenia is thus also joining the group of those countries that will probably be the first to join the expanded EU. We have to catch this train, and we were already in a hurry to do so. Otherwise we would not be able to be among the most promising candidates for the expansion of the EU, which are probably going to begin negotiating with the Union in 1998. And then we will have to definitively decide for membership or against it. It will most probably be decided by a referendum.

[Lorenci] In your last interview for SOBOTNA PRILOGA [Saturday supplement—a supplement to the Saturday edition of DELO], you announced that the foreign policy will be "an agreed upon point of condensed attacks of the opposition." It now seems that the opposition is, after all, partially cooperative regarding the foreign policy.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Drnovsek] With an emphasis on [the word] partially. There were also a number of attacks, demagogic and cheap populist discussions regarding selling out Slovenia, and suchlike. Whatever the case, it is very positive that a convincing majority of parliament supported the European direction after all. This simply deals with the answer to the question as to whether Slovenia can exist outside a united Europe or not. It also deals with the fact that we will have to accept the European rules of the game in the final phase, and not that Europe will adapt to Slovenia. The quantities are indeed different. I am, of course, glad that we have brought the matter through in the way that we did, although we are already in the election campaign period. As already mentioned, the timing was very important, and it was necessary to find the balance between our and the Italian foreign political situation. At the same time we had to keep our eyes on the general circumstances in the EU, their timing, and their time coordinates regarding the admittance of new members. We have missed nothing so far. However, this was a critical phase; the moment in which we could fatally begin being late.

[Lorenci] Is the parliamentary motion against Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler, now, with this, at least conditional, breakthrough, basically unusual ar out of place?

[Drnovsek] It truly is out of place. Perhaps it stems from the already dusty evaluation from the time when there was a change in the coalition, which the ZLSD [United List of Social Democrats] left. At that time, part of the opposition had evaluated that the coalition had become weak, and that Minister Thaler was one of its weak spots because the Christian Democrats would not support the minister due to previous offenses. The parliamentary motion was therefore created out totally inner-political considerations. This is now becoming quite out of place, and goes against Slovenia's interests. Slovenia has now made a move that Europe welcomes. It would be terribly unusual if we were to give a non-confidence vote to the foreign minister at the same time. I expect that this will not happen.

[Lorenci] This evaluation that you have just made will oblige you to protect Thaler at all costs, so to say.

[Drnovsek] In my statements I have also said that I do not intend either to sacrifice or protect Thaler. On the contrary! We intend to defend Thaler.

[Lorenci] Even if the price for this is the breakup of the coalition?

[Drnovsek] It would be unusual if the coalition partner were to not support a government minister, but to support an initiative that was initiated by the opposition. This is supposed to be a coalition association!? The question of the continued existence of this coalition would be seriously raised. I can announce that at this point.

[Lorenci] Many believe that you would be able to carry on as a minority government until the elections without major problems.

[Drnovsek] That is probably true.

[Lorenci] Approximately one third of the year has passed and the situation in the economic area seems alarming. The macroeconomic indicators are quite poor.

[Drnovsek] They are a little worse than they were in the last two years and worse than forecast. We have assessed the reasons for this at a number of consecutive economic councils of the government's, and have been predicting the necessary measures. One of the main reasons for the poor results is the comprehension of the economic growth or even the recession in western Europe, which is where our main markets are. The EU is fixing its projection for 1996. It first forecast a 2.9 percent increase for this year, but is now reducing it to 1.3 percent. It is, therefore, reducing it by more than half. The recession is maybe even most distinct on the German market, and we are especially dependent on it. There are other reasons too, including the late consequences of an overpriced tolar [Slovene currency unit]. And there is, of course, the fact that the ownership reform has not really begun and it is not yet bringing in the full results. The processes regarding the change of ownership, restructuring, and so on, are still running and have not set in yet. The new structure has not imbedded itself yet and it is not yet bringing in all the positive points that it otherwise will. The government is now seriously studying the situation, even concerning inflation, which is a bit higher than expected....

[Lorenci] ...and which will, if it goes on this way, exceed 10 percent.

[Drnovsek] It will not go on this way, it must not go on, and it will not go on! We agreed on all the possible measures to stop this movement. In the first three months we have permitted all the most necessary structural changes, for example regarding the price of electricity. However, we will stop practically all future price adjustments. Inflation must not exceed last year's inflation, that is, it must be at least a little below it. We are being persistent on this matter, and are therefore being stricter with our anti-inflation policy. On the other side we are seriously studying all the budget movements as well as the public finances, and we are trying to find space for another decrease in contribution degrees. [passage omitted]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Lorenci] In your last interview for DELO you said unusually sternly that, regarding salaries, it simply is not possible to tighten belts any further in Slovenia, and that we are, after all, living in an open, democratic, and not a CC [Communist Party Central Committee] system. Moreover you said it was not possible to tighten belts and cut salaries only in an open crisis. Nevertheless, however we turn the facts, we are always left with the fact that salaries are a question of Slovene success or failure.

[Drnovsek] What I had said then still holds true today. This is a key issue: whether we can make a correction of the salaries in advance, by agreement, or only through a crisis that will force us to tighten belts later, and will cost us more. I think that it is totally clear that the government has been fighting the battle on this issue in these months, that it is trying to keep public finances within the foreseen limits, or to even decrease them. Doing this, the government is faced with numerous pressures to increase salaries. An example of this is the doctors' strike, but it all started at the beginning of the year with the pensions. New pressures and new strikes are on the horizon. With the pressures, it may also be counted on the fact that it is an election year, and the time when the government is supposed to be most sensitive to such pressures. There is also no social agreement yet. We are otherwise very much for social peace and social agreement, but not based on something that would mean decreased competitiveness and increased inflation. The government is fighting hard on this matter. [passage omitted]

[Lorenci] At the moment the doctors' strike started, it was clear that other strikes would follow if you were to give in to the doctors. And this is happening. How long can this wave of strikes go on?

[Drnovsek] The government did not give in to the doctors. It only corrected, in a small way, those starting points that started this strike. This was a very "bloody," a very tough strike. The government was in no way a weak partner. A doctors' strike is otherwise the most unpleasant strike that can befall a government. Nevertheless, we faced it in a tough manner, for 23 days. And this was a clear signal to all those who may also be considering strikes. The doctors' strike ended with that which we had been offering them from the beginning. A partial increase in salaries concurrently means a greater rationalization in the health sector, less duty times, a greater overview of the rewards, and finally, also a smaller number of various envelopes. In short, the total result should not be an increase in the public finances. I hope that this will all end this way. If the strike pressures were to continue all over, and if we were to satisfy them, then we would inevitably have higher inflation in the next phase. This inflation would take away everything that the individuals have fought for in this phase. Each one, on his own, thinks that he has gained something, but in the end everyone loses. [passage omitted]

[Lorenci] Do you think that this wave of strikes is also politically motivated and lead?

[Drnovsek] I think that it is partially led. The unions have evaluated that it is possible to gain more in this election year, and they are counting on the support of various political parties. I think that we can also partially talk of a more or less direct political encouraging of certain strikes. According to the logic: what is bad for the government is good for the opposition. That may be true, but it is bad for the country as a whole. [passage omitted]

[Lorenci] You have said that you will do more or less everything to ensure that inflation does not exceed last year's. What about the increase of the national product? It seems that it will lag behind the predicted one; that it therefore will not reach 5 percent.

[Drnovsek] That is very probable, even considering the movements in our most important markets and the changed projections in the EU. We too will probably correct the predicted increase in the national product to around 4 percent. This is not a final projection. However, the projections will remain positive.

[Lorenci] Does this really mean a big mess, a great shake-up of the public finances?

[Drnovsek] We will, of course, have to consider this in our budget items, and in our entire public finance calculations. It is another reason that we must not give in to excessive pressure regarding pay increases in the non-economy [negospodarstvo] and economy areas. Pay increases may be justified when they are within the framework of increases in productivity and the national product. However, if the increase of the national product falls behind the increase in salaries, then the movement of the salaries needs to be adjusted accordingly. [passage omitted]

[Lorenci] Dr. Joze Mencinger said the following about the situation of our economy: "It was a short, [and] not too great story of our success." How would you comment on his statement?

[Drnovsek] Oh, these are those pleasing statements that Mencinger makes every now and then, and they do not cost him much. There is also some flirting with politics. We are still evaluated as a very successful country abroad, they there are not burdened by our domestic games. Here, every local commentator is, in

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

his evaluations, part of one local political game or another, in one way or another.

[Lorenci] In any case, it seems to me that in none of your interviews for DELO in the last two or three years have you ever been as worried about the economic situation as you are now.

[Drnovsek] The economy always moves in cycles, things are sometimes better, and sometimes worse. Slovenia is, after all, part of world events, and we cannot avoid that. I am worried for two reasons. One is the recession in the European markets, which has a big impact on us but is beyond out control. The second are the local pressures, the unawareness or neglect of the difficult situation on the markets abroad, and the concurrent demands for higher salaries. Had the government not resisted that, then the situation could have turned out very, very much worse. It is not a simple situation for an election year, in a time when we almost have an minority government and have to deal with matters that governments deal with—and even then they do it unwillingly—at the beginning of their mandate, when they have strong support in parliament, and when the elections are still a long way off. In any case, I remain firmly convinced that Slovenia will continue to be successful economically.

[Lorenci] The elections are coming closer, and the worst thing for you would be if the economic results become obviously worse in the election year itself. It is hard to imagine anything worse happening to you. Your election success probably depends overwhelmingly on the economic success of the ship that you are steering.

[Drnovsek] The success probably depends a great deal upon it. And also upon the judgment of the people, as to how capable the government and its prime minister are of overcoming problems. Well, we are trying to convince them that we are successful, and the opposition is doing the opposite. In any case, it is better if everybody is satisfied, and if the trends are moving upward. Politicians always find themselves in temptation, since the government can influence the current judgment of the people. This can be done, let us say, by artificially maintaining higher salaries up until the elections. [passage omitted]

[Lorenci] What is your comment on the last suggestions regarding the voting system, and about the entire mess around it?

[Drnovsek] It really is a big mess, with which, to tell you the truth, I am trying to have as little to do as possible. There are so many other open issues. I would find it irrational to deal with every referendum initiative as well as the new voting system. That is one point. The second is that you can—if you are good—win in every voting system. To me, it does not seem productive to make a great deal out of changing the voting system in a way that might enable you to get something more out of it. Moreover, world experience tells us that you basically never know how the voters will behave, and whether a different voting system will be more beneficial than the previous one.

[Lorenci] Will your party win this year's elections?

[Drnovsek] I think that it will. That is what the public opinion polls and forecasts are indicating. This is even expected by the opposition parties.

[Lorenci] However, the advantage of the LDS [Liberal Democracy of Slovenia] will be smaller than in the previous election.

[Drnovsek] I do not think that will be the case.

[Lorenci] That is what the latest polls are showing.

[Drnovsek] No, they are not.

[Lorenci] Has Janez Jansa's party [Social Democratic Party of Slovenia] not come closer to you than any party ever has?

[Drnovsek] No. These relations are quite all right.

[Lorenci] Have you already thought of a motto, a leading idea of the election campaign?

[Drnovsek] I personally have not yet dealt with that. This will now slowly start to develop within the party, within the election staff. I can therefore not yet give you a motto for the forthcoming elections.

[Lorenci] The party's greatest trump card will probably be you, personally.

[Drnovsek] That is what the public opinion polls show—probably also those polls that you are mentioning. The party will probably bet on the fact that, despite everything, it has been successful in leading this country for four years already. In spite of all the problems it has turned out that, first, we know how to lead a country, and, second, we know how to successfully overcome problems of one kind or another. While doing this, we have gained a lot of experience that others do not have.

[Lorenci] You are a very dominant person in the LDS. One can sometimes hear complaints that you do not give enough breathing space to other people.

[Drnovsek] Oh, I do give them enough breathing space. Everybody in the party wants to talk to me, I am invited to meetings, and so on. The problems arise when I am not around, on the pretext that I am not spending enough

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

time with them, It is otherwise probably normal that the public deals with myself and the government more than with someone else.

[Lorenci] Who makes the final selection of the list of party delegate candidates? You?

[Drnovsek] This will be done by the bodies of the party, and I will, of course, give my opinion. To tell you the truth, personnel issues are the ones that I find hardest to do, or that I like to do least. However, it is necessary to make personnel decisions all the time. If I run for the next election, I will definitely make sure that I run in the company of people that one can trust, and with whom it is possible to continue leading the country. In any case I intend to reserve the right to say with whom I am ready to run and lead the country, and with whom not.

[Lorenci] What do the following words mean to you: "If I run for the next election?"

[Drnovsek] This is a common reservation that one has regarding the future.

[Lorenci] A few days ago you shoveled manure, even for the public. Was there any symbolism in that? Were you trying to tell the voters that you are clearing out the Slovene barn and that you are going to clean it?

[Drnovsek] The situation turned out in the way it did. The readers of KMECKI GLAS [Farmers' Voice] chose me. Every month they choose a political personality, and he then does a farm chore that needs doing at the time. And this shoveling of manure obviously somehow got caught up with some possible symbolism.

[Lorenci] But did you think of it?

[Drnovsek] Well, at the time when I was shoveling the manure I really did think of such symbolism. But even otherwise.

[Lorenci] You handled the pitchfork quite well.

[Drnovsek] The farmers were quite satisfied with me. I was invited to join them some other time as well.

[Lorenci] Prime Minister, thank you for the interview.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Federal

FRY: Turkey To Raise Level of Diplomatic Relations 'Soon'

AU0505183496 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 5 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Turkey will soon raise the level of diplomatic relations with the FRY to the level of ambassadors, ANATOLIA news agency reported today. The new ambassador to Belgrade will be (Aleb Kilic), a seasoned diplomat who has been monitoring events in the Balkans so far.

FRY: Seselj Demands Appointment as Kosovo Governor

AU0605085596 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 2 May 96 p 7

[Unattributed report: "Seselj Offers To Become Governor"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vojislav Seselj, the leader of the Serbian Radical Party, assessed that the Serbian regime was "incapable" of solving the Kosovo problem and demanded from both Serbian and federal institutions that he be appointed governor general of Kosovo.

"I demand that I be appointed governor general of Kosovo and I guarantee that I will pacify the region and resolve the Kosovo problem in two years," Seselj said in a news conference. Seselj said that the decision on the appointment of a regional governor was taken either by the federal or the republic parliament, which action should be accompanied by the proclamation of a state of emergency in that part of the republic.

"If the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] is not ready to treat the Kosovo issue, the Serbian Radical Party is. If Milosevic cannot prevent Albanian separatism, I can," Seselj said.

Asked in which way he would solve the Kosovo problem, the Serbian Radical Party leader said that he would first ensure that laws were respected and move out the people who did not have Federal Republic of Yugoslavia citizenship. He said that he had no illusions that he would get that function in the present constellation of powers on the political scene.

Seselj assessed that in the long run the Serbian regime "supported" the Albanian separatists and that the United States and NATO supported a political game for the secession of Kosovo and Montenegro from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"The United States is preparing an armed rebellion in Kosovo and it is pushing the Albanians into an armed conflict. It is not interested in how many victims there would be and that a new war would break out in this region. It only cares about its strategic interest," Seselj said and assessed that the Serbian regime was "immature" in responding to challenges and "incapable" of opposing foreign powers.

[Box, p 7]

Milosevic Is Expelling Montenegro

The leader of the Serbian Radical Party stated that he had reliable information that a new federal constitution was being prepared by which the Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic wanted to change the functioning of the federal state from the parliamentary into the presidential system.

"Milosevic does not have the two-thirds majority in the federal parliament, and he lacks the support of Montenegro for changing the Constitution. If he is not supported by Montenegro, it is very probable that he (Milosevic) will decide on the secession of Montenegro," Seselj pointed out.

FRY: SRS Leader Says New Electoral Law Violates Constitution

AU0405193996 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 May 96 p 4

[Article by B. Didanovic: "Seselj: The SRS Will Accept Challenge"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—"The announced law on electoral units unearths the regime's fear of the upcoming elections," Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], stated at a news conference yesterday. Despite, as he said, "the energetic opposition to such legal constructs," he added that this party was nevertheless ready to meet the challenge "in hopes that we will beat the Socialists and become the first party in Serbia."

The Socialists are, according to Seselj, fully aware that they will find it difficult to win the absolute majority necessary to amend the Constitution. That is why, the leader of the Radicals believes, "they came on the idea of changing the law on electoral units," which, as he said, "represents a flagrant violation of the Constitution."

"The Constitution stipulates that all electoral matters must be regulated with the laws that are passed with a two-thirds majority," the head of the Serbian Radical Party explained, adding that "the exclusion of the law on the electoral units from the electoral law is artificial."

Assessing that the proposed law in reality introduces the majority system, Seselj stressed that the introduction of

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

27 electoral units in Serbia and 12 in Montenegro "favors the party that individually wins the greatest number of votes; the second party by the number of votes remains relatively strong; the third is considerably shaken, while the fourth and all others are completely annihilated." As the Radicals have calculated, the threshold would in certain electoral units, depending on the number of deputies to vote, be 33 percent.

"It would be good if the kindred political parties were to unite," Seselj said in reply to a question about a possible joint list, and added that the Radicals were now ready to talk with the Democratic Party of Serbia. "We are not willing to form an alliance with the Serbian Renewal Movement, a party of the NATO pact. We like power; however, we prefer dignity, honesty, and honor," Seselj said, assessing that "the Djindjic-Draskovic alliance will be short-lived and henceforth other possibilities will emerge on the opposition scene."

To a journalist's question about a possible boycott of the elections, Seselj replied: "The SRS is not ready for a boycott in the face of this law; however, it does not rule out the possibility of an agreement with other parties regarding the boycott of the elections over other issues, such as the inequality of parties and the blockade of the media."

[Box, p 4]

Aggravation Over Brcko

According to Vojislav Seselj, these days "the situation around Brcko is exacerbating, while the United States is pondering how to give Brcko to the Muslims with the help of artificial arbitration and divide the Serb Republic into two."

"The blame for this goes to Slobodan Milosevic, who did not need to agree to international arbitration," Seselj assessed and added that "there should be no yielding on Brcko."

Montenegro

Montenegro: Bulatovic Discusses Dayton Agreement With Bildt

AU0305205096 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 3 May 96

[Report by Milorad Vukovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic and Carl Bildt, UN high representative for the implementation of the civilian part of the Dayton agreement, held talks in Milocer this evening. Miodrag Vukovic reports:

[Vukovic] We discussed the ways to revive efforts to implement the peace agreement, Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic said after the one-hour talks with Carl Bildt, UN high representative for the implementation of the civilian part of the Dayton agreement.

Carl Bildt then briefly addressed numerous domestic and foreign journalists.

This is the continuation of the dialogue of a few months ago, he said. We are approaching, Carl Bildt said, the critical moment in the implementation of the peace agreement. In my view, Bildt said, there are good and bad signs. It is good that we no longer have the war and that all citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina enjoy peace. The normal life is also returning to the economy. This also applies to the Serb Republic.

The high UN representative said that in that republic [words indistinct] tensions [passage indistinct].

We will continue talks tonight, Carl Bildt said, and will try to find some solutions acceptable to all.

Kosovo

Kosovo: UN Rights Rapporteur Sees Danger of 'Real Conflict'

AU0305185496 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 3 May 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At a news conference held in Prishtina [Pristina] yesterday, Elisabeth Rehn, special UN rapporteur on human rights in the former Yugoslavia, stated that the latest incidents that have occurred in Kosovo seriously add to the possibility of a real conflict. It is in the interest of all, she said, that all parties resume talks, adding that an international presence in Kosovo is more than necessary.

Mrs. Rehn also held a meeting at the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms [KMLDNj] in Pristina. Here is a telephone report by correspondent Sherif Konjufca from Pristina:

[Konjufca] We are disillusioned with your last report, KMLDNj chairman Adem Demaci told Mrs. Elisabeth Rehn during her visit to that organization. We cannot also favor the assertion in the report that Albanians boycotted the education system allegedly due to programs and the health system due to mistrust. The truth is that Albanians have been boycotted by the Serb-imposed education and health systems, Mr. Demaci said. Demaci told the guest that the Serbs first demanded the physical division of schools, then poisoned our pupils. They evicted about 150,000 Albanian workers, thus leaving their families without any source of existence and about 450,000 children with no social and health insurance.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Then, our institutions of culture and science were closed down in turn, information media in the Albanian language were usurped, while the courts, the Prosecutor's Office, and the police were purged of Albanians. Today Albanians are being persecuted, killed, imprisoned, and tortured, without finding protection anywhere, Demaci said.

Dr. Pajazit Nushi spoke about the politicization of the educational system, mentioning that out of 18,000 students of the Serb University in Prishtina, only 2,000 are Serbian students from Kosovo.

Dr. Alush Gashi brought in various testimonies on the violent eviction of the Albanian medical staff by the health institutions in Kosovo.

On this occasion, Mrs. Rehn was handed a file with ample information on the Serbian violence against the population in Kosovo.

During a meeting with reporters at Prishtina's Grand Hotel, Special UN Rapporteur Rehn declared that she had talked to several Albanians who were gravely tortured and that she had visited the family of the killed student Armed Daci. She expressed her sorrow for him and the killed Serbs.

She said that she held extensive talks with President Rugova and believes it is high time to start negotiations.

Asked whether she sees Kosovo closer to resolving its issue or closer to conflicts, Rehn answered that over the past months, she has not observed positive processes in Kosovo. She added that latest incidents signal the danger of a real conflict.

She denied having said in Geneva that there are no problems in Kosovo, adding that in fact, she sees the problem of Kosovo as the most serious in the former Yugoslav area. She added that she is cooperating with The Hague International Court and expressed her conviction that the international presence should be installed in Kosovo.

Regarding the international protectorate in Kosovo, she said that she sees it as a real possibility.

Kosovo: UN Envoy, Bildt Associates View Meeting With Rugova

AU0305201096 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 2 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The UN human rights rapporteur for former Yugoslavia, Mrs. Elisabeth Rehn, told reporters after a meeting she had with President Rugova of Kosova on Thursday [2 May] morning, she had discussed the situation in the aftermath of the "incidents that have been taking place here." She expressed her concern about this, and voiced her hope the situation will not "escalate into something worse."

Asked to comment on the contents of the meeting with President Rugova, Mrs. Elisabeth Rehn said: "We have always had very open discussions. I met with President Rugova in Brussels last week, too. I have been trying to follow the situation from his point of view, so now we went through the whole range of important questions regarding the Albanian population in Kosova and the Kosova question altogether. I am very pleased with our discussions."

Meanwhile, after the meeting Ambassador Martin Lutz and Mr. David Austin had with President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova on Thursday, Martin Lutz, head of the Working Group on Regional Issues in the Office of the High Representative Carl Bildt, said he had been in his new post dealing with the issues here only three weeks. "So, it was just the first visit to meet the people, to know the people, to introduce myself, and it is certainly too early to give any statements on what we are going to do. We will go back, think of what we have heard here, and be back and then talk in more substance," Carl Bildt's aide said, noting that Mr. Austin and he himself had "a very helpful meeting in order to know the position of Mr. Rugova." We will think it over, what he (Rugova) told us, we will think over what the other (Serbian) side is going to tell us, and then try to find common grounds of the future, Ambassador Lutz said.

"Indeed we are in the business of mediation. We do not have any army behind us, if you put it this way. We represent, however, a large part of international, the Peace Implementation Council.

"These are 43 states which are assembled in it, amongst them America, all European states, Japan, Turkey and so on. Of course we will have to go back and report to them and get guidance from Peace Implementation Council Steering Board," Ambassador Lutz told reporters in Prishtina.

Kosovo: 'Kosovo Liberation Army' Attacks Detailed

AU0305062196 Paris AFP in English 2319 GMT 2 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, Yugoslavia, May 3 (AFP)—An organisation calling itself the Kosovo Liberation Army claimed responsibility Thursday or fatal attacks last week in the Albanian-dominated province of Serbia, the main opposition party said.

The Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) said the unknown group, in a message sent to the Albanian-

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

language service of the BBC, had warned "that support for the Serb aggressor and non-respect for the expressed will of the oppressed Albanian people mean that the armed conflict in Kosovo and the Balkans will continue." The message added that "the armed conflict in Kosovo is a war of liberation and consequently is not related to terrorism, or interethnic or religious confrontation."

Six people—an Albanian student and five Serbs—were shot dead in a wave of incidents last week. A child was also killed and three other people injured in a bomb explosion in the village of Velika Reka, 30 kilometres (18 miles) north of here.

Kosovo, 90 percent of whose two million inhabitants are ethnic Albanians, has been the scene of intense interethnic tension since Belgrade decided to suppress the southern province's autonomous status in 1989.

The Kosovo Liberation Army, of which Kosovo's Albanian political parties disclaim all knowledge, first announced its existence in February, claiming to have carried out bomb attacks against Serb refugee centres.

Thursday's claim came as Elisabeth Rehn, the special UN rapporteur on human rights, was in Kosovo for talks with local leaders. Speaking after a meeting with LDK leader Ibrahim Rugova, Rehn said Thursday she was "very concerned" about the situation in the province and hoped there would not be any escalation of violence. At a press conference later she warned of the dangers of "real conflict," adding, "it is is in everybody's interest to stop that conflict and start the negotiation."

Rehn said that the focus had all been on Bosnia-Herzegovina, but the problems of Kosovo must not be forgotten. She urged greater international participation and pressure on the two sides to negotiate.

As well as Rugova, Rehn met Adem Demaci, chairman of the human rights committee in Pristina, and representatives of other Albanian political parties. She was scheduled to meet local Serb authorities on Friday.

Kosovo: 'Alleged' Albanian Group Claims Responsibility for Attacks

AU0305201696 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 2 May 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] An alleged Albanian organization, calling itself The Liberation Army of Kosova (Ushtria Clirimtare e Kosoves—UK) has claimed responsibility for the 22 April shooting incidents in several places in Kosova, in which five Serbs, including a police officer, were killed and as many wounded, the Albanian, Serbian and Croatian services of the BBC reported Wednesday [1 May] evening.

In a written statement forwarded to the Albanian section of the BBC, the UK said "such actions will be a warning to the world that the support given to the Serbian aggressors while ignoring the will of the occupied people of Kosova will only mean that an armed struggle in Kosova and conflict in the Balkans will continue. The armed struggle of the Kosova people is not terrorism, inter-ethnic or inter-religious conflict, but rather a war for the liberation of Kosova," the statement quoted by the BBC said.

The UK, whose existence was not known or heard of till mid-February 1996, had claimed responsibility of the 11 February blasts in half a dozen Serb refugee camps in Kosova. There were no casualties in the blast, while the material damage was reportedly negligible.

The UK had faxed a statement to the Albanian-language RILINDJA newspaper, published in Switzerland, on 15 February, in which the UK's "Central Headquarters" threatened the blasts in Kosova were only the "first warnings."

Unidentified sources were quoted by the Voice of America Albanian Section correspondent in Belgrade as saying the 11 February blasts were the work of the ultranationalist Serbian Radical Party circles, namely Seselj's people.

Meanwhile, the Belgrade-based BETA news agency reported those days the Tirana-based GAZETA SHQIPTARE daily (published in Albania) quoted an unidentified member of an organization calling itself "Levizja Kombetare per Clirimin e Kosoves" (LKK) (National Movement for the Liberation of Kosova) as saying the attacks on the Serb refugee camps in Kosova were "only the beginning of the activity" of that organization.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT NO. 352
MERRIFIELD, VA.

This is a U.S. Government publication produced by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

FBIS collects, translates, disseminates, and analyzes foreign open-source information on behalf of the U.S. Government. Its publications may contain copyrighted material. ***Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.***

— Bracketed indicators before the first sentence of each item describe the way in which the material was processed by FBIS.

— Headlines and all bracketed explanatory notes are supplied by FBIS.

— Personal and place names are rendered in accordance with the decisions of the U.S. Board on Geographic Names as adapted by FBIS. Unverified names in radio and television material appear in parentheses and are spelled phonetically; words and phrases in parentheses preceded by a question mark are unclear in the original and deduced from context.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

U.S. Government Customers

For a list of FBIS products, to subscribe to an FBIS publication, or to indicate a change of address contact:

FBIS
P.O. Box 2604
Washington, DC 20013-2604
Telephone: (202) 338-6735
FAX: (703) 733-6042

Non-Government Customers

Subscriptions are available from the National Technical Information Service:

NTIS
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, VA 22161
Telephone: (703) 487-4630
FAX: (703) 321-8547

New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.